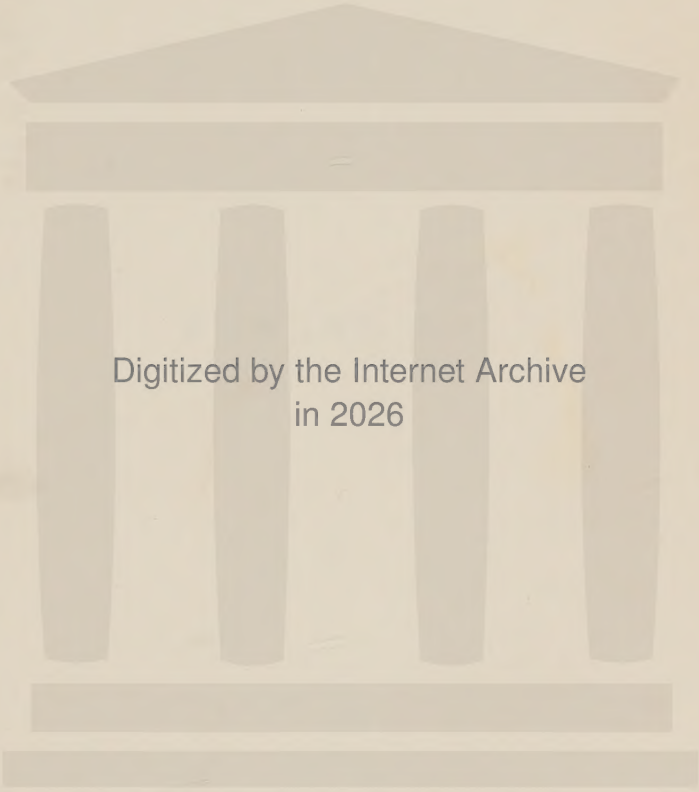
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THE WORKS AND LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE

GENERAL EDITOR: R. H. CASE

EDWARD II

THE WORKS AND LIFE OF CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE

In Six Volumes. *Demy 8vo.*

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Marlowe, Christopher, 1564-1593.

EDWARD II

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GORDIAN PRESS, INC.

NEW YORK, MCMLXVI

12,088

Originally Published 1930
Reprinted 1966

821.3
M349e

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Published by Gordian Press, Inc., by
arrangement with Methuen and Co. Ltd., London
Library of Congress Catalog Card No. 66-23027

Printed in the U.S.A. by
EDWARDS BROTHERS, INC.
Ann Arbor, Michigan

7 42
8-24-67

PREFACE

AS the one who undertook to edit *Edward II* for this series, it is proper that I should exonerate my colleague, R. D. Waller, from all responsibility for the long delay. The chief cause of it has been the vain hope of discovering some new fact concerning the dark period in the history of Pembroke's company of actors. The edition as now issued endeavours to conform to the plan of the series, and the editors accept joint responsibility for the whole of it. They have profited greatly from the edition published by the American scholar, W. D. Briggs, in 1914. They are, too, very greatly indebted to the general editor, Mr. R. H. Case, and most of all for his patience in circumstances which must have tried him most sorely.

H. B. C.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN COLLATIONS, ETC.

Tr.	Transcript of first two leaves of Dyce copy of 1598 Q. (? 1593).
O.	Earliest known edition, the octavo of 1594.
Q.	Quarto edition, 1598.
Q.2	Quarto edition, 1612.
Q.3	Quarto edition, 1622.
Dod.	Dodsley's *Old Plays* ed., 1744.
Reed	Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. I. Reed, 1780.
A.B.D.	*Ancient British Drama*, 1810.
Dilke	*Old English Plays*, 1814, 1815.
Ox.	*The New English Drama*, 1818–24 [ed. Oxberry].
Coll.	Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. J. P. Collier, 1825.
Rob.	Robinson's ed., 1826.
Dyce[1]	Dyce's edition of 1850.
Dyce[2]	Dyce's revised edition, 1858.
Cunn.	Cunningham's ed., 1870.
Kelt.	*Works of the British Dramatists*, 1870 [ed. Keltie].
Wag.	Wagner's ed., 1871.
Fleay	Fleay's ed., 1877.
Tan.	Tancock's ed., 1879 [ed. used 1899].
Bull.	Bullen's ed., 1885.
Pink.	Pinkerton's ed., 1885.
Ell.	Ellis's (Mermaid) ed., 1887.
McL.	McLaughlin's ed., 1894.
Ver.	Verity's (Temple Dramatists) ed., 1896.
T. Brooke	Tucker Brooke's ed., 1910.
Briggs	W. Dinsmore Briggs's ed., 1914.
Greg.	W. W. Greg's (Malone Society) ed., 1925.
M.S.R.	Malone Society Reprints.
M.L.R.	Modern Language Review.
M.L.N.	Modern Language Notes.
R.E.S.	Review of English Studies.
T.L.S.	Times Literary Supplement.

[In the recording of textual variants, attention is not usually paid to spelling, i.e. a record *so OQ*, means that the word in OQ is the one given in our text, though OQ may not spell it as does our text. We have relied on Briggs for readings from the editions of Pinkerton and McLaughlin.]

INTRODUCTION

I

EARLY EDITIONS

THE earliest known edition of *Edward II* is an octavo of 1594, the title-page of which runs: The troublesome/raigne and lamentable death of/ Edward *the second, King of*/England: with the tragicall/ *fall of proud* Mortimer:/As it was sundrie times publiquely acted/*in the honourable citie of London, by the*/right honourable the Earle of Pem-/*brooke his seruants./Written by* Chri. Marlow *Gent.*/[Ornament]/Imprinted at London for *William Iones*/dwelling neere Holbourne conduit, at the/signe of the Gunne. 1594. Two copies of this are known; one in the Landesbibliothek of Cassel, Germany, the other in the Zentralbibliothek at Zurich. They are almost, though not quite identical, the text having undergone revision in a few insignificant details while going through the press.[1]

In 1598 a quarto edition was printed by Richard Bradocke for William Jones.[2] The title-page inserts after Mortimer: '*And also the life and death of Peirs Gaueston, the great Earle of Cornewall, and mighty fauorite of King Edward the second.*'

There are copies in the British Museum (two), the Bodleian,

[1] See *Malone Society Reprints, Edward the Second,* from which this and other bibliographical data are taken.

[2] Chambers, *Eliz. Stage,* iii. 425, says this has an additional scene. No doubt a slip.

and the Dyce collection at South Kensington. Another quarto was published by Roger Barnes in 1612; there are copies in the British Museum and the Dyce collection. Finally, a quarto was published in 1622 by Henry Bell, to whom the copyright had passed in April 1617. A number of copies of this edition exist, in two states; the first repeating on its title-page the statement that the play was acted by Pembroke's servants, the second substituting: '*As it was publikely Acted by the late Queenes Maiesties Seruants at the Red Bull in S. Johns streete.*' [1]

The early editions appear to have been printed in succession from each other, and the text, in all but very minor detail, is in very good condition. Various peculiarities, such as the apparent absorption into the text of a prefix at II. ii. 81, the confusion over Berkeley's entrance at V. i. 111, the confusion of Arundel and Matrevis in the prefixes from II. v. 98 onwards, indicating a probable doubling of parts, and perhaps the imperative *Embrace Spencer* at III. ii. 176, support the inference that the play was printed from a playhouse manuscript,[2] which in any case is probable, and that this had undergone some revision for the stage. Mr. P. Alexander has venturously suggested as a possibility pleasant to contemplate that *Edward II* may have been given to the press by no other than Shakespeare himself, 'to help to keep alive the memory of the dead shepherd, once his colleague in Pembroke's company'.[3] However this may be, the play escaped the fate of those others of Marlowe's compositions which were left unpublished at his death; for they were eventually given to the world in a state of corruption which has been the despair of commentators ever since.

[1] References to the play in the *S.R.* are given in full in *M.S.R.*, *op. cit.* They are: 1. Entry for publication by William Jones, 6 July 1593; 2. Entry for publication by Roger Barnes, 16 December 1611; 3. Transfer of copyright to Henry Bell, 17 April 1617; 4. Transfer of copyright to Master Haviland and John Wright, 4 September 1638.

[2] See *M.S.R.*, *op. cit.*, pp. ix–xii.

[3] P. Alexander, *Shakespeare's Henry VI and Richard III*, 1929, p. 211.

The bibliography of *Edward II* has one as yet unsolved problem. Dyce, in his edition of Marlowe's *Works* (1859, p. lv), describes a copy then in his possession, now at South Kensington. It is an imperfect copy of the 1598 quarto, lacking the first two leaves and having them supplied in manuscript.[1] The date given on the MS. title-page is 1593. Dyce, having no knowledge of the 1594 edition, copies of which did not come to light until later in the century, and noticing that the MS. title-page differed in wording from that of 1598, thought that the quarto of 1598 was merely a re-issue, with a new title-page, of an impression originally published in 1593; or alternatively that there might have been a distinct edition in 1593 of which no copies had survived. His remarks appear to have been overlooked until 1909, when Professor Tucker Brooke again called attention to this copy.[2] The manuscript supplies the title-page and the first 70 lines of the text. On the back of the title-page there is the following inscription: 'Mary Clarke her Book and Writting October the third One thousand seven hundred and fifty one.' The copy cannot have been made from the edition of 1598. It agrees with the 1594 octavo in making no mention of Piers Gaveston on the title-page and in a difference of phrasing in the next sentence; the head-title of the second leaf appears in the MS. and 1594, but was dropped in 1598; while there are a few variants in the text where 1594 and the MS. agree as against the quartos. It might then be surmised that the MS. was copied from the edition of 1594, a slip having been made in the last figure of the date. This however seems improbable for several reasons.

1. There are some 15 variants between the text of 1594 and the MS., not counting differences in spelling and punctuation. Professor Tucker Brooke finds the reading of the MS. preferable in three cases (see ll. 9, 31, 58).

[1] Facsimile in *M.S.R., op. cit.*
[2] *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiv. 71.

2. *Chri. Marlow* of 1594 is abbreviated in the MS. to *Chri. Mar.*

3. The play was entered at Stationers' Hall on 6 July 1593. Long delays in publication were not normal; Marlowe had been killed only a month before (30 May); there is an *a priori* likelihood that William Jones would not keep the play waiting on his hands.

On such grounds Professor Tucker Brooke concludes that Mary Clarke had a copy of a first edition before her. But that lady's *writting* refers only to her inscription; the hand of the copy itself is at least a hundred years earlier in date. It might be no later than the end of the sixteenth century itself. The scribe may have been a professional; certainly he writes a beautifully neat hand, in the Italian style. He may have gone his own way in the matter of spelling; we cannot know this without knowing what he copied. Here and there he presents quite impossible readings; for example, he leaves out the word *hard* in l. 66, writes *Its* for *As* in l. 20, *bakt* for *Rakt* in l. 21, *eate* for *dart* in l. 41. These mistakes, especially the last, suggest that he might have been copying not from print but from manuscript in the English hand. Yet if he were copying from manuscript, how does the imprint of William Jones come to be present?

The most probable explanation of all this is that there was an edition in 1593. It was hastily and carelessly printed. It already had *Its*, *bakt*, *eate*; it perhaps omitted *hard* in l. 66, all these being mistakes which might easily be made by a printer working hastily from manuscript to catch a public still excited by Marlowe's death. The scribe of the Dyce manuscript faithfully copied the faulty text of 1593, possibly introducing spelling corrections of his own; for instance, he may have written *Syluan* in l. 58 for *Silvian*. It will be noticed that the six cases adduced by Tucker Brooke as inferior readings in the manuscript are really stronger evidence for the existence of a 1593 edition

than the three in which the manuscript seems preferable ; for the latter might be improvements made by the scribe himself, whereas *Its*, *bakt*, and *eate* require explanation by some antecedent corruption.

II

AUTHORSHIP

THE complete authenticity of *Edward II* as the work of Marlowe has, as far as we know, been called in question only by that inveterate disintegrator Mr. J. M. Robertson.[1] The early editions all bear Marlowe's name ; and the fact that the characters are more probable and the style quieter and freer than those of *Tamburlaine* or *The Jew of Malta* does not make it any less clearly the work of the same writer. Mr. Robertson, who wishes to date the play about 1587, is obliged to cover up difficulties thus raised by resort to a theory of interpolations, partly by Marlowe himself, and partly by Peele after his fellow-dramatist's death. The dating is discussed in Section III. The ' irreducible dubiety ' which we are told results from the discovery that lines V. v. 67–9 are apparently imitated in 2 *Henry VI* will not rack the brains of any who suppose the play to have been written *c.* 1591 ; and there is no evidence that we should do otherwise. Many of the passages which are closely paralleled in other plays do certainly constitute a very difficult problem as we shall see, but neither they nor any other details of Mr. Robertson's case afford any good ground for disputing Marlowe's authorship of the entire play.

[1] In *Marlowe*, 1931. See pp. 39–41, 77–83.

III

DATE OF COMPOSITION

Edward II has generally been considered on literary grounds to be the most mature of Marlowe's plays, and assigned on this and other evidence to the period 1591–3; but the relation of this play to 2 *and* 3 *Henry VI*, as well as our uncertainty about the arrangement of the Marlowe canon,[1] makes a more precise dating particularly desirable. The facts on which any decision must be based are as follows.

1. *Performances in London, and the Pembroke Company*

The title-page 1594, and MS. ?1593, state that the play was performed by Pembroke's men sundry times in the city of London. About this company much has been surmised, on the slenderest evidence. Fleay supposed it to have originated in 1589; Baldwin without giving evidence supposes it to have existed in the summer of 1591,[2] Alexander accepts the possibility that its activities date from 1587.[3] But whatever may be argued as probable or possible, there is no record of its existence before the last three months of 1592, when it was at Leicester. It was called to Court only twice, 26 December 1592 and 6 January 1593. Chambers surmises that it came into existence late in 1592 through a division of the amalgamated Strange's and Admiral's companies for travelling purposes in time of plague; a supposition that is supported by the fact that among the actors whose names are left standing in the *Folio* text of 2 *and* 3 *Henry VI*, John Holland was in the Strange's-Admiral's about 1590, and so was Sincler.[4] Sincler

[1] Boas is inclined to date *Dr. Faustus* 1592, and Bennett inclines to the same year for *The Massacre at Paris* (see *Dr. Faustus*, p. 11, and *M. at P.*, p. 170, both in this series).

[2] T. W. Baldwin, *Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*, 1927, p. 329.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 204.

[4] Other actors whose names stand in the *Folio* text are Gabriel [Spencer] and Humphrey Jeffes. The former is known to have been a member of Pembroke's company in 1597, and so also probably was Jeffes.

appears in the Chamberlain's company from 1594 onwards. Since *2 and 3 Henry VI* were certainly acted by Pembroke's men about 1592, it looks as though the two combined companies had supplied them with actors from their own personnel. But this remains only surmise. Evidence has recently been forthcoming to show the existence of Pembroke's men between 1593 and 1597 when Chambers formerly thought they had lapsed ; [1] and records may yet come to light showing their existence before 1592.

To return to certainties. In the summer of 1593, Pembroke's company toured the provinces, returning to London bankrupt by the middle of August.[2] *Edward II* had come into the booksellers' hands a good month before (*S.R.* 6 July 1593). *The Taming of a Shrew* (*S.R.* 2 May 1594) and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York* (printed 1595), both of which bear the name of the company on the title-page, followed not long after.

In what year or years, then, was it 'sundrie times publiquely acted in the honourable citie of London' by Pembroke's men ? It was of course before 6 July 1593. But from 28 January 1593 all plays had been forbidden on account of the plague. There had been a short open season round Christmas 1592—Henslowe records 29 performances from 29 December 1592 to 1 February 1593. Pembroke's men were in London during this interval—they were called to Court on 26 December 1592 and 6 January 1593. They may, then, have performed *Edward II* in December 1592 or January 1593. We know that immediately before December 1592 they were at Leicester, and there is no earlier documentary evidence of their existence. The simplest deduction, therefore, would be that they performed *Edward II* in London in December 1592 or January 1593. There are, however, other possibilities. They may have existed before autumn 1592. If so, they may have played

[1] See *Eliz. Stage*, ii. 128–31 ; *William Shakespeare*, i. 50, 288.
[2] Greg, *Henslowe Papers*, p. 40.

Edward II either in London or in the provinces in 1591–2. But a provincial performance does not affect the statement on the title-page; and it is hard to imagine that a Pembroke company had a London season in 1591–2 and was not once called to Court. It looks therefore as if December 1592 is the earliest time at which Pembroke's men could have played *Edward II* in London. If the play was not new then, either it had previously belonged to another company,[1] or Pembroke's men had an earlier unrecorded existence,[2] perhaps no more than a few months of provincial playing. Was *Edward II* new in December 1592? What evidence may be found of its date in the play itself?

2. *Parallels in other plays*

We now proceed to give for what it is worth the evidence of parallel passages. Testimony of this kind, as Bullen remarked, 'is always expected, always produced, and seldom regarded', and certainly in this case, although the parallels are in many cases obviously more than coincidences, it is not safe to draw too dogmatic an inference from them. We give first passages from Peele's *Edward I*, and from *2 and 3 Henry VI*, since in our opinion these plays were written before *Edward II*; and afterwards passages from *Arden of Feversham* and *Solyman and Perseda*, both of which we think to have been written after it.

EDWARD I

Peele's *Edward I*[3] was entered *S.R.* 8 October 1593 and

[1] Chambers used to think that Strange's originally owned *2 and 3 Henry VI*, inferring this from their owning *1 Henry VI* (*Eliz. Stage*, ii. 129); but since he has later come to the conclusion that *1 Henry VI* was written or revised later than the other parts (*Will. Shak.*, i. 293) this argument is much less strong. There is certainly no reason beyond the merest speculation for supposing that any company owned *Edward II* before it came to Pembroke's.

[2] See below, p. 20.

[3] Fleay thought *Edward I* was a Strange's play on the strength of the passage (ll. 759–62) supposedly playing on Shakespeare's name. If it is the same as *Longshanks* (see Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 179) the likelihood that it

published in the same year in a mutilated text. Fleay makes its date 1590–1 on the ground that lines are quoted in it from *Polyhymnia*, 1590, but this is not conclusive. Bullen's text is quoted.

(*a*) *Edward II*, I. i. 171 sqq.

> It shall suffice me to enjoy your love,
> Which whiles I have, I think myself as great
> As Cæsar riding in the Roman street,
> With captive kings at his triumphant car.

Edward I, i. 92 sqq.

> Not Cæsar, leading through the streets of Rome
> The captive kings of conquered nations,
> Was in his princely triumphs honoured more
> Than English Edward in this martial sight.

(The comparison, which is not very apt in Marlowe's context, is perfectly natural in Peele's.[1])

(*b*) *Edward II*, III. iii. 56–7.

> Tyrant, I scorn thy threats and menaces;
> 'Tis but temporal that thou canst inflict.

Edward I, v. 55.

> Seize on me, bloody butchers, with your paws:
> It is but temporal that you can inflict.

(Peele's line is metrically better than Marlowe's.)

(*c*) *Edward II*, IV. ii. 72–3.

> These comforts that you give our woful queen
> Bind us in kindness all at your command.

Edward I, vi. 59–60.

> This comfort, madam, that your grace doth give
> Binds me in double duty whilst I live.

belonged to Strange's company is increased. The parallels in that case form another link in the evidence that connects Strange's, Admiral's and Alleyn with the Pembroke company.

[1] Cf. *Massacre*, xviii. 51–3; *2 Henry VI*, II. iv. 13–14.

(*d*) *Edward II*, IV. vi. 96.

Hence feigned weeds! unfeigned are my woes.

Edward I, xxv. 122.

Hence, feigned weeds, unfeigned is my grief.

(This is the most interesting case. The line is the only indication in *Edward II* that the king is disguised as a monk. The action does not require him to be, nor does Holinshed say he was. In Peele, however, the king has dressed in 'friar's weeds' to discover his wife's secret.[1])

Altogether this is a good example of how little can be learnt from even the closest parallels in Elizabethan plays. All these passages might have come into *Edward I* in the process of corruption which produced its text; in which case nothing could be deduced about the order of composition. We incline to think, however, that *Edward I* is the earlier play [2] and that it lent a few lines to *Edward II*.

2 AND 3 HENRY VI

There are a considerable number of parallels with these two plays either in the folio form or in the quarto form of the two *Contentions*. They have been the subject of speculation for over a hundred years. Only the more important passages are here set out. Others are to be found in Professor Tucker Brooke's article, *The Authorship of 2 and 3 Henry VI*, in *Transactions of the Connecticut*

[1] Notice eight lines before, in *Edward II*,

Let Pluto's bells ring out my fatal knell,

an odd idea paralleled by *Battle of Alcazar*, I. i. 115. But Greg has shown *Alcazar* to be a provincial actors' text—this might be an actor's intrusion from *Edward II*. If *Alcazar* is correctly identified with *Muly Mollocco* it was a Strange-Admiral's play in 1592, and might have been taken on tour with the Pembroke company if Chambers's theory of its formation is correct. See Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 149. *Alcazar* was written some time before April 1589.

[2] Tzschaschel (*Edward II und seine Quellen*, 1902, p. 33) thinks that it may be accepted with 'ziemlicher Sicherheit' that *Edward I* came first and that it may even have directed Marlowe's attention to that king's successor—a very improbable speculation, even though *Edward I* were the earlier.

Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1912. See also the treatment of them in Alexander, *op. cit.*

(*a*) *Edward II*, I. ii. 83.

> Ay, if words will serve; if not, I must
> [i.e. levy arms against the king.]

2 Henry VI, V. i. 139–40.

> *Edw.* Ay, noble father, if our words will serve.
> *Rich.* And if words will not, then our weapons shall.

(Substantially the same in the *Contention*.)

(*b*) *Edward II*, I. iv. 114–5.

> And long thou shalt not stay, or if thou dost,
> I'll come to thee; my love shall ne'er decline.

Contention, x. 174–5.

> And long thou shalt not staie, but ile haue thee repelde,
> Or venture to be banished myselfe.

(In both a love relation broken by a banishment. See *2 Henry VI*, III. ii. 349–50. *Contention* clearly combines passages in the two other plays.)

(*c*) *Edward II*, I. iv. 406.

> He wears a lord's revenue on his back.

2 Henry VI, I. iii. 83.

> She bears a duke's revenues on her back.

Notice that *Edward II* goes on:

> And Midas-like he jets it in the court,
> With base outlandish cullions at his heels.

while just before in *2 Henry VI* comes:

> She sweeps it through the court with troops of ladies.

(The parallel hardly exists in the *Contention*, the line about the duke's revenues not occurring.)

(*d*) *Edward II*, II. ii. 16–17.

A lofty cedar-tree, fair flourishing,
On whose top-branches kingly eagles perch.

True Tragedy, xxii. 6–7.

Thus yeelds the cedar to the axes edge,
Whose armes gaue shelter to the princelie Eagle.

(See *3 Henry VI*, V. ii. 11–12. Identical.)

(*e*) *Edward II*, II. ii. 95–7.

Nay, all of them conspire to cross me thus;
But if I live, I'll tread upon their heads
That think with high looks thus to tread me down.

Contention, ii. 45–6.

But ere it be long, Ile go before them all,
Despight of all that seeke to crosse me thus.

(This looks slight, but see the passage in *2 Henry VI*, I. ii. 64–5:

I would remove these tedious stumbling blocks
And smooth my way upon their headless necks.

Alexander suggests, no doubt rightly, that the last line was associated in the mind of the actor, or the compiler of the *Contention* text, with the similar line in *Edward II*. He leaves out the line which started the association and goes on with the preceding line in the latter play.)

(*f*) *Edward II*, II. ii. 162–3.

The wild Oneyl, with swarms of Irish kerns,
Lives uncontrolled within the English pale.

Contention, ix. 134–6.

The wilde Onele my Lords, is up in Armes,
With troupes of Irish Kernes that vncontrold,
Doth plant themselues within the English pale.

(See *2 Henry VI*, III. i. 282–3. Parallel with *Contention*

only. There was no historical O'Neill in either case. Alexander takes this as a clear case of incorporation of a passage of *Edward II* by the *Contention* pirate. Notice that our (*g*) occurs only a few lines further on, in the course of the same list of national disgraces.)

(*g*) *Edward II*, II. ii. 166.

The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas.

3 Henry VI, I. i. 239.

Stern Fauconbridge commands the narrow seas.

(Identical in *The True Tragedy*. Briggs is at some pains to explain how the haughty Dane came to be there. We think that Marlowe, compiling the list of disgraces, caught up the line about narrow seas and fitted it with a nation not so far mentioned.)

(*h*) *Edward II*, II. iv. 40.

Forslow no time; sweet Lancaster, let's march.

3 Henry VI, II. iii. 56.

Foreslow no longer, make we hence amain.

(Absent from *True Tragedy*.)

(*i*) *Edward II*, III. ii. 30–1.

As though your highness were a schoolboy still,
And must be awed and governed like a child.

2 Henry VI, II. iii. 28–9.

I see no reason why a king of years
Should be to be protected like a child.

Contention, iii. 48–9.

And nere regards the honour of his name,
But still must be protected like a childe,
And gouerned by that ambitious Duke.

(Alexander's explanation of this must be right. The

pirate has caught up ' honour of thy name ' from *Edward II* a few lines back, and then combines the two passages.)

(*j*) *Edward II*, IV. vi. 41–3.

> O might I never open these eyes again,
> Never again lift up this drooping head,
> O never more lift up this dying heart!

3 Henry VI, II. i. 74–8.

> Now my soul's palace is become a prison.
> Ah, would she break from hence, that this my body
> Might in the ground be closed up in rest!
> For never henceforth shall I joy again,
> Never, O never, shall I see more joy!

(Parallel not very exact, but the sentiment and the repetition are similar. The first part of the speech in *3 Henry VI* has been laid under contribution in *The Massacre at Paris*, whither it may have found its way through a pirate's operations. But see Greg, *Massacre*, in *M.S.R.*, p. viii. The passage given above is botched badly in *The True Tragedy*.)

(*k*) *Edward II*, V. i. 13–4.
(and add I. i. 93,

> Frownst thou thereat, aspiring Lancaster?)

> [And] highly scorning that the lowly earth
> Should drink his blood, mounts up into the air.

3 Henry VI, V. vi. 61–2.

> What? will the aspiring blood of Lancaster
> Sink in the ground? I thought it would have mounted.

(*The True Tragedy* preserves the passage well. Oddly fanciful in both places. In *Edward II* it is the lion who mounts, not the blood; but on the strength of this parallel the emendation [*it*] *mounts* has been suggested, we think wrongly.[1])

[1] C. Brennan in *Anglia, Beiblatt*, 1905, p. 209.

(*l*) *Edward II*, V. v. 67–9.

> Tell Isabel, the queen, I looked not thus,
> When for her sake I ran at tilt in France,
> And there unhorsed the duke of Cleremont.

2 Henry VI, I. iii. 53–6.

> I tell thee, Pole, when in the city Tours
> Thou ranst a tilt in honour of my love,
> And stolest away the ladies' hearts of France,
> I thought King Henry had resembled thee.

(See *Contention*, iii. 59–63. *2 Henry VI* is much closer. Alexander makes light of this as having only a general resemblance of idea. But it needs explanation. Marlowe's passage, though deeply pathetic in its context, seems unrelated to Edward's nature and his relations with the Queen ; it is also without historical basis. Of course the play is not remarkable for consistency, and any assurance would be unsafe. Nevertheless it seems probable that these two passages are related ; and if related, that the one in *2 Henry VI* is the earlier.)

(*m*) *Edward II*, V. vi. 43.

> But hath your grace no other proof than this ?

Contention, x. 70.

> But haue you no greater proofes then these ?

(The contriver of a murder in both cases faced by an accuser. Absent from *2 Henry VI*. Clearly the pirate's transplantation.)

The three chief explanations that have been offered for these very perplexing parallels [1] are :

[1] None of these parallels are with *1 Henry VI*. Why ? The most obvious reasons are that (*a*) the situations in that play do not so closely resemble those of *Edward II*, and (*b*) it was not a Pembroke play. Alexander, who claims that it *was* a Pembroke play, is content with the former, and produces two alleged parallels with it. Perhaps the simplest reason is (*c*) that *1 Henry VI* was not yet written, i.e. that *Edward II* is between *2, 3 Henry VI* and *1 Henry VI*.

1. Marlowe had a good deal to do with the writing of the *Contention* and *The True Tragedy* (or with plays, not being the folios ones, on which they were based). He was always given to self-repetition, and used the passages both in these plays and in *Edward II*. Shakespeare, who revised the old plays, kept some of the passages and omitted others. This may be said to be standard, from Malone to Tucker Brooke, in one form or another.

2. Marlowe borrowed the passages from *The Contention*, *The True Tragedy*, and Shakespeare's revision of them. (Grant White, ed. Shak. 1865, vi. 403–68 ; Schelling in *The English Chronicle Play*, p. 64, quoting Halliwell-Phillips and Miss Lee.)

3. *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy* are memorial reconstructions of the text preserved in the *Folio*. Greene's attack in 1592 shows that *2 and 3 Henry VI* were in existence at that date. They were written between 1587 and 1591. Marlowe, writing *Edward II* in 1591, remembered and appropriated various passages. The pirate or pirates of *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy* in their turn appropriated passages from *Edward II*. This is the view of Mr. P. Alexander,[1] who thinks that Shakespeare wrote the whole of *1, 2, and 3 Henry VI* in that order. Mr. Alexander may be taken to have demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt the origin of the quarto texts, but his theory of authorship and of the priority of *1 Henry VI* to the other parts is less conclusive. It may be added that Chambers accepts the explanation of the quarto texts, the pirate, he thinks, being the book-keeper (*Will. Shak.*, I. 283). He dates *2 and 3 Henry VI* 'tentatively' in 1591 (*ib.*, 293).[2]

While we would not maintain that this array of passages proves anything beyond possible doubt, it inclines us to

[1] *Op. cit.*, 93–116.

[2] Another explanation has been suggested by J. M. Robertson who thinks *Edward II* was the earliest of Marlowe's extant plays, and that the passages under discussion were interpolated by a reviser who took them from the Henry VI plays. In the substantially Marlovian authorship of the latter Mr. Robertson remains a firm believer. See later, p. 21.

believe that *Edward II* was written after *2 and 3 Henry VI*. The date of those plays thus becomes of some importance for this inquiry. We shall leave it for a moment to suggest a limit of date in the other direction.

ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM, SOLYMAN AND PERSEDA

There are a number of parallels, some of them very close, with works that have been ascribed to Thomas Kyd, who in his letter to Sir John Puckering, 30 May 1593, says that he and Marlowe were ' writing in one chamber two years since ', i.e. about May 1591, and that they were then serving the same lord.[1] *Arden of Feversham* was registered 3 April 1592 and published in the same year. *Solyman and Perseda* was registered 20 November 1592.

(*a*) *Edward II*, I. i. 151.

> I have my wish, in that I joy thy sight.

Arden, V. i. 349. (*Shakespeare Apocrypha*).

> I haue my wishe in that I joy thy sight.

(*b*) *Edward II*, II. ii. 30–1.

> Is this the love you bear your sovereign?
> Is this the fruit your reconcilement bears?

Arden, I. 186–7.

> Is this the end of all thy solemne oathes?
> Is this the frute thy reconcilement buds?

(If there was ever a clear case of borrowing this is one. However it came into *Arden*, it surely shows that *Edward II* existed before 3 April 1592.)

(*c*) *Edward II*, IV. vi. 44–5.

> Look up, my lord. Baldock, this drowsiness
> Betides no good; here even we are betrayed.

[1] For this lord, Strange, Sussex, and Pembroke have been suggested.

Arden, III. ii. 17.

This drowsinesss in me bods little good.

(*d*) *Edward II*, V. i. 45–6.

Or, like the snaky wreath of Tisiphon,
Engirt the temples of his hateful head.

Arden, V. i. 156–7.

That lyke the snakes of blacke Tisiphone
Sting me with their embraceings.

(*e*) *Edward II*, V. vi. 83.

Nay, to my death, for too long have I lived.

Arden, V. v. 36.

But beare me hence for I have liued to long.

(In both cases a woman who is an adulteress and accomplice in a murder is being led away to punishment. The passage in *Edward II* might be added on the other hand to the *Henry VI* parallels. See *Contention*, vii. 10,

Even to my death, for I have lived too long.

The line in *2 Henry VI* (II. iii. 14) runs:

Welcome is banishment; welcome were my death

—another good case of recollection on the part of the pirate.)

(*f*) *Edward II*, I. i. 161–2.

Thy worth, sweet friend, is far above my gifts,
Therefore, to equal it, receive my heart.

Solyman and P., I. ii. 38–40 (in Boas, *Works of T.K.*).

Let in my hart to keep thine company.
Erast. And, sweet *Perseda*, accept this ring
To equall it: receiue my hart to boote.

(*g*) *Edward II*, I. iv. 296–7.

> And when this favour Isabel forgets,
> Then let her live abandoned and forlorn.

Solyman and P., IV. i. 198.

> My gratious Lord, whe[n] *Erastus* doth forget this fauor,
> Then let him liue abandond and forlorne.

(*h*) *Edward II*, IV. vi. 8.

> Father, thy face should harbour no deceit.

Solyman and P., III. i. 72.

> This face of thine shuld harbour no deceit.

(*i*) *Edward II*, IV. vi. 62–3.

> O my stars!
> Why do you lour unkindly on a king?

Solyman and P., V. iv. 82–3.

> Ah heauens, that hitherto haue smilde on me,
> Why doe you vnkindly lowre on *Solyman*?

(*j*) *Edward II*, V. ii. 104–5.

> I tell thee, 'tis not meet that one so false
> Should come about the person of a prince.

Solyman and P., I. v. 71–2.

> It is not meete that one so base as thou
> Shouldst come about the person of a King.

Some of these passages were pointed out by Crawford in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxxix. He says that at least thirty passages of *Arden* were inspired by *Edward II*, but he gives only four. All of them with a few others are listed in Professor Tucker Brooke's article, *The Marlowe Canon*, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass. Amer.*, Sept. 1922. They are accepted by him without question as appropriations by Kyd. They probably are. In that case it can hardly be doubted that *Edward II* existed in MS. by the autumn of 1591. If

Marlowe, writing then, and writing 'for the same lord' as Kyd with whom he was living, meant it from the outset for Pembroke's, Pembroke must have had a company by 1591. But that, we have seen, is not easily to be assumed. Other possibilities are that it was meant for another company, either Marlowe's former one, the Admiral's,[1] or Strange's,[2] or both in their temporary amalgamation. Such a company may actually have had the play, and then handed it over to Pembroke's when Pembroke's was formed. This seems unlikely, since had this been the case we should expect it to apply also to *2 and 3 Henry VI*, and at least one of the plays would then have almost certainly appeared in Henslowe's 1592 list. But none are mentioned. A more likely suggestion is that, whilst the play remained in MS., Marlowe found it better to look for another patron, perhaps for the reason advanced by Tucker Brooke [3]—and so offered his play to Pembroke, who may have been forming his company in spring 1592, only to find that from June 1592 to December 1592 London was barred to actors. That would fit in with the view that *Edward II* was written in the autumn of 1591, but was not performed in London until Pembroke's men played it in December 1592, before which, however, they may presumably have played it in the provinces.[4]

[1] The Admiral's, we know, performed his *Tamburlaine*, *Faustus*, *The Massacre at Paris* and *The Jew of Malta*.

[2] Tannenbaum (cited by Tucker Brooke, *Life*, p. 47) thinks that Kyd's patron was Lord Strange, since his company performed *The Spanish Tragedy* in 1592–3.

[3] *Life*, p. 48.

[4] Other parallels of less importance may here be mentioned.

1. *Summer's Last Will and Testament.* McKerrow dates this in the summer of 1592 (Nashe's *Works*, iv. 416 ff.) Chambers concurs, inclining to late summer or autumn (*Eliz. Stage*, iii. 451–2). Tucker Brooke has indicated the following reminiscence:

Edward II, V. v. 73.

I see my tragedy written in thy brows.

Summer's L.W., 1802 (McKerrow).

I see my downefall written in thy browes.

2. *The Wounds of Civil War.*
Edward II, V. iii. 37–9.

The evidence so far examined converges upon 1591 as the date of *Edward II*. Mr. J. M. Robertson, however, has recently argued that in an early form the play dates from as early as 1587.[1] His argument starts from the hitherto unexplained opening of *Dr. Faustus*:

> Not marching now in fields of Thrasimene
> Where Mars did mate the Carthaginians;
> Nor sporting in the dalliance of love,
> In courts of kings, where state is overturned,
> Nor in the pomp of proud audacious deeds
> Intends our muse to vaunt his heavenly breath.

> Immortal powers! that knows the painful cares
> That waits upon my poor distressed soul,
> O level all your looks upon these daring men.

Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*, ll. 1814–17.

> Immortal powers that know the painful cares
> That wait upon my poor distressed heart:
> O bend your brows and level all your looks
> Of dreadful awe upon these daring men.

The Wounds of Civil War was registered 24 May 1594. Chambers dates it *c.* 1588 because of a clear imitation of *Tamburlaine* contained in it, and because no performance is recorded in Henslowe, this suggesting a date well before 1592. This view rests on its being, as the title-page says, an Admiral's play. The padding of the passage in Lodge makes it look dependent on Marlowe. In any case no conclusion about the date of *Edward II* can possibly be drawn from it.

3. Tucker Brooke points out a direct reference to *Edward II* in Peele's *Honour of the Garter*, ll. 220 ff. Peele was paid for this poem 23 June 1593, by which date Marlowe's play must of course have been well known.

> More loyal than that cruel Mortimer
> That plotted Edward's death at Killingsworth,
> Edward the Second, father to this King,
> Whose tragic cry even now methinks I hear
> When graceless wretches murdered him by night.

I think we cannot be quite sure that this refers to *Edward II*. Tucker Brooke says that Mortimer's part in the murder belongs to Marlowe, not to Holinshed. But it was one of the charges against Mortimer when he was executed; and appears there in most chronicles (including Holinshed) and in *The Mirror for Magistrates*. Again Marlowe does not say the murder was done by night, but Lightborn has a lamp to go into the dungeon, which no doubt would suggest night to a spectator; so that one may conclude that if Peele is referring to the play at all, it is to a performance of it. The tragic cry—mentioned by Marlowe and many chroniclers—would no doubt remain uncomfortably in the memory.

4. Crawford has indicated an unmistakable borrowing in Barnfield's *Affectionate Shepherd*, printed November 1594. See *Collectanea*, i. 7.

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 28–41, 77–83.

Mr. Robertson thinks that the first two lines refer to a lost play by Marlowe on a Carthaginian subject, the next two to *Edward II* and the last two to *Tamburlaine*. Three separate plays certainly seem to be indicated, and if the prologue was written by Marlowe as the style would lead one to suppose, it is natural to infer that these plays were of his own composition. It is just possible, of course, that the reference is to plays performed immediately before by the same company and on the same stage, but by other authors. 'The dalliance of love' does not directly suggest *Edward II*, though it cannot be denied that the phrase might be applied to it. In any case both Professor Tucker Brooke and Dr. Boas have dated *Dr. Faustus* 1592, so that even if this passage refers to *Edward II* there is no need to relegate the play to a very early date.[1]

But Mr. Robertson does not rely only on this piece of evidence. He finds that according to the double-ending test the verse is in part early and in part late, and that an early date is suggested by the use of stichomythia. But dialogue in single lines comes naturally in quick exchanges of speech; besides there are passages of stichomythia in *Henry VI* and *Richard III*, and the date 1591 is not too late for such echoes of the old Senecan mannerisms. As for the double endings, Mr. Robertson has no doubt counted them correctly; but the total proportion accords with a late date for the play, and it is risky to argue anything from the fact that there happen to be more of them in one part of the play than in others.[2]

Accepting all this as evidence of early date, Mr. Robertson has to explain the occurrence of the passages set out above.

[1] And the order given might not be chronological; i.e. if *Edward II* is referred to, we need not infer that it preceded *Tamburlaine*.

[2] 'Some passages in a play may show a continuous or nearly continuous series of overflows or double-endings; in others there may be none over a considerable stretch. It is futile to point out that the former show an exceptionally high percentage of the variations, and to use this as an argument in favour of diversity of authorship or a diversity of date. Mr. Robertson's handling of metrical evidence is much open to this criticism' (Chambers, *Will. Shak.*, i. 266).

His solution is that *Edward II* was redacted. Some additions were made for production in 1590–1, others for publication in 1594. The existing text is a réchauffé, Peele being 'the most probable editorial operator'. However, this somewhat desperate expedient is not necessary if we are not convinced by the argument for an early date; and since we are not, we may pass on.

So far, then, the argument from works attributed to Kyd makes for 1591 as the date of *Edward II*. Does this square with reasonable deductions concerning the relation of *Edward II* and *2 and 3 Henry VI*? Did Marlowe's technique, novel for him in *Edward II*,[1] owe anything to the manner of treating historical material by the author of *2 and 3 Henry VI*? What is the likely date of these Shakespearean plays?

The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York names the Pembroke company on its title-page. *The Contention*, which bears a close relationship to it and, like it, is bound by unmistakable links to *Edward II*, is usually assumed to have been a Pembroke play also. These two texts we can now safely assume to be corruptions of *2 and 3 Henry VI*, which, it follows, were also Pembroke plays. Greene's famous allusion in *A Groats-worth of wit* to a line in *3 Henry*

[1] This change has been accounted for in another way by Professor Tucker Brooke in the first volume of this series. His theory is that Kyd's lord was Strange, and that Marlowe's plays, acted by the amalgamated Strange's and Admiral's companies, were suited to the genius of Alleyn, the Admiral's great actor. Meeting with Strange's disapproval, he went over to Pembroke's, and his next play *Edward II* shows 'an almost painful regard for the interest of a company not possessed of any star performer but capable of good ensemble effects'. This is an ingenious suggestion, but as a qualification of Professor Tucker Brooke's own suggests, it leaves little room for the natural supposition that after several years of practice and acquaintance with other dramatists, Marlowe might have made some progress in dramatic craftsmanship. It is artificial to put down to external accident what might easily be the result of independent artistic development. Another explanation is that of J. M. Berdan (*Phil. Quart.*, III, 1924), who thinks that Marlowe's handling of the historical events was determined by Scottish affairs in his own day, Edward II serving as a parallel to James IV. Thus the play becomes 'a warning that he who defies God's anointed is in dangerous ways . . . a golden defence of English monarchy'. We do not think Berdan has made out a case for this theory; but in any case the dating of the play is not affected by it.

VI makes it certain that the two plays existed before September 1592. The theatres had been shut for a few months before this, so that the date of *2 and 3 Henry VI* is carried back almost certainly into 1591 or earlier. That is, both *Edward II* and *2 and 3 Henry VI* existed in 1591. In the case of *Edward II* suggestions have been made above to explain the odd circumstance that the play was not known to the London stage until December 1592. No such explanation seems valid for *2 and 3 Henry VI*. These two Henry VI plays therefore were either Pembroke's from the beginning (in which case, he had a company in 1591), or belonged to some other company. Most scholars believe the second of these alternatives. They point out that Strange's men had a '*harey the vj*', marked as *ne*(*w*) by Henslowe in March 1592, and take this to be *1 Henry VI*, the identification appearing to be corroborated by Nashe's reference to 'brave Talbot' in *Pierce Penilesse* (*S.R.* 8 Aug. 1592). But if *1 Henry VI* was *new* in March 1592, it looks as if *2 and 3 Henry VI*, to which Greene refers before September 1592, must have been written well within 1591. They cannot therefore have been written for Pembroke, if he had no company before 1592. But Pembroke's may have taken them over from Strange's, as, it seems, they took over *Titus Andronicus* which was acted (and why not in the order named?) by Strange's, by Pembroke's, and by Sussex's. Shakespeare as an actor was presumably much more tied to his company than was the dramatist Marlowe. Shakespeare may have served successively in the three companies before he is found with the Chamberlain's men. But Marlowe's connexion with Pembroke's need not be taken as an absolute break from Alleyn (whether in Strange's or the Admiral's or both jointly), nor would it prevent his providing Alleyn's company with any later and more suitable piece.[1] There seems no reason why Marlowe's career

[1] The argument above has assumed that '*harey the vj*' is *1 Henry VI*. Mr. Alexander will not have this. He takes *1 Henry VI* to be a Pembroke

should not be *Tamburlaine* for the Admiral's 1587, *The Jew of Malta* for (Queen's 1589? but) a Henslowe associate company 1591, *Edward II* (1591) for Pembroke's 1592, *Faustus* 1592 (perhaps first for Pembroke's but then) for Admiral's, *Massacre* (late 1592) for Strange's.

Our conclusions involve a little modification of the accepted notion of Marlowe's artistic relationship with Shakespeare. Shakespeare at the beginning of his career turned to chronicle play-writing and wrote *2 and 3 Henry VI* for Strange's men in or before 1591. Marlowe, already connected with Admiral-Alleyn, and so with Strange associates, must have been known to him and have exercised an influence on his mind. It was now Marlowe's turn to be affected. Leaving the *Tamburlaine* kind, he turned to English history; he forsook his high astounding themes to adopt a new technique, relying now not on transports and rhetoric but on the interplay of human character. But he was still wedded to the tragic spirit, and the result was *Edward II*, written in 1591. Meanwhile Kyd, if it was he who wrote *Arden of Feversham* and *Solyman and Perseda*, had read Marlowe's manuscript while they were sharing a chamber, and appropriated some of its lines. In the winter of 1592–3 *Edward II* was, and *2 and 3 Henry VI* may have been, performed by Pembroke's men in London; from February 1593 onwards in the provinces. On 30 May 1593 Marlowe was killed, and on 6 July William Jones registered *Edward II* for publication. How the copy came to William Jones it is impossible even to guess. The text is almost universally regarded as good, and the general assumption seems to be that Pembroke's men in financial distress sold their copy direct to the bookseller; or it might have been sold by an individual actor to whom it fell upon a division of the stock. Yet they did not return to London until the middle of August; and though shortly afterwards they seem to

play, written before *2 and 3 Henry VI*. He thinks he finds two passages in *1 Henry VI* which are echoed in the *Contention*. They are too slight to build any conclusion on.

have sold *2 and 3 Henry VI* also, they clearly did not sell them to a bookseller but to another company. They themselves did not disband, and may have reconstructed for themselves some of the copies they had let go ; or some person closely connected with them, perhaps the book-keeper, put together such memorial copies and disposed of them to a bookseller. In whatever manner it came about, *2 and 3 Henry VI* got into print in 1594 and 1595 as *The First Part of the Contention*, and *The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, corrupt texts in which passages from *Edward II* were mixed up with passages from the original copy, while the original copy itself came probably into the hands of the Chamberlain's men and may have been acted by them just before the first performance of *Henry V*. Whether any company continued to act *Edward II*, and what company, must remain an open question. Pembroke's company seems to have existed until 1600. It is possible, though uncertain, that they were merged eventually into Worcester's company, which under the name of the Queen's servants played *Edward II* at the Red Bull some time before 1617.[1]

To return to *Edward II*, if Marlowe had, as suggested, consented to learn of Shakespeare, it is none the less certain that Shakespeare learnt of him, both before and after that play. *Richard III*, which followed upon *Henry VI*, shows

[1] Five of the Pembroke men came into the Admiral's in 1597. Chambers (*Eliz. Stage*, ii. 132) says that study of the Admiral's repertory for 1597–8 suggests that among other plays *Dido and Aeneas* may have been brought in by these men. The question of the identity of this play with the *Dido* of Marlowe and Nashe has often been raised but generally rejected. The title-page of that play, 1594, says that it was played by the children of her Majesty's Chapel ; but this in itself need not prevent our supposing that the copy might later have changed hands, or that it was played in London while the children were in the provinces. Greg points out, however, that the properties for *Dido and Aeneas* in the Admiral's inventories do not bear out the identification (*Henslowe*, ii. 190). The only item which is opposed to it is ' j tome of Dido ' (*Henslowe Papers*, p. 116). There is no tomb in the printed text. But this would be a revival of an old play, and a tomb might have been inserted. It would be interesting if this other of Marlowe's plays could be associated with the Pembroke men. Tucker Brooke (ed. *Dido* in this series, p. 116) is inclined to accept the identification. The Chapel children were out of London at the time.

his influence very clearly. The history play here is also tragedy; the hero is a more subtle and more intellectual variant of the Marlovian type; the versification shows the same relationship. In this play the earlier Marlowe is perhaps most readily recalled. In *Richard II*, however, we are reminded frequently of *Edward II*. But there is an intermediate play in the so-called *1 Richard II* or *Thomas of Woodstock*. This composition, the author of which has not been identified, shows an unmistakable dependence on both *Edward II* and *2 Henry VI*.[1] It may, as the editor of the *Malone Society Reprint* suggests, have been a Pembroke play. *Thomas of Woodstock* and *Richard II* cover together the same ground as *Edward II* in itself—the career of an incompetent pleasure-loving king, his love of favourites, his neglect of duty, and his inevitable fall; and there is little doubt that Shakespeare had both the other plays in mind. It is curious to think that in contemplating *Edward II* he may have had in mind also its indebtedness to himself.

The association of Shakespeare with Marlowe being so close, it would be pleasant to follow Mr. Alexander's fancy and make it closer still by supposing that Shakespeare saw his friend's play safely into print; perhaps even imagining, as Ingram did long ago, that he may have added touches to it here and there, as for example Young Spencer's advice to Baldock, or Mortimer's very fine farewell speech.[2] There is no good reason for supposing any such thing; but neither is there any good reason for trying to demonstrate its improbability.

[1] See Keller's reprint and introductory matter in *Shak. Jahrbuch*, xxxv, 1899, and Miss Frijlinck's introduction to *M.S.R.*

[2] See J. H. Ingram, *Marlowe*, 1904, p. 205.

IV

STAGE HISTORY

NOTHING is known [1] of the stage history of *Edward II* apart from the meagre information afforded by the title-pages or deducible from them and the *Stationers' Register*, i.e. that it was performed in London by Pembroke's men before July 1593, and revived by Queen Anne's men at the Red Bull between 1604–6 and 1617.[2]

It has been suggested that Chettle and Porter's *The Spencers* and an anonymous *Mortimer* of the Admiral's men, mentioned by Henslowe in 1599 and 1602 respectively, may have had some connexion with Marlowe's play.[3] Neither of these is extant. The Chettle-Porter play was probably an historical drama dealing with the reign of Edward II and possibly inspired by the success of Marlowe's tragedy. It was certainly quite distinct. On 4 March 1598 Henslowe advanced ten shillings to Chettle 'in earneste of his boocke w^{ch} harey porter & he is a writtinge', and on 22 March £5 10*s*. to Porter. On 9, 14, and 16 April 1599 he lent Thomas Downton in all £30 for properties for the same play. Clearly this was an independent play. The *Mortimer* is more problematic. On 10 September 1602 Henslowe entered: 'Lent vnto edward Jube . . . to macke ij sewtes a licke for the playe of mortymore the somme of vj^{li}.' This however may be the same play as that mentioned 20 November 1601, 'pd at the apoyntment of the company vnto my sonne E Alleyn for a Boocke called

[1] See the discussion of certain possibilities in Section III.

[2] Between 1612 and 1617 if we take into consideration the 1612 title-page where 'Pembroke's servants' still stands. Tucker Brooke in Oxford *Marlowe*, p. 308, quoting Fleay, says that Queen Anne's men played at the Red Bull 1609–19. Chambers however shows that they were playing there probably as early as 1604–6 when the theatre was built, and that they moved off to the Cockpit in 1617 (*Eliz. Stage*, ii. 447, 240).

[3] See Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 224, and Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, iii. 425. Tucker Brooke in Oxford *Marlowe*, p. 308, has the date of *The Spencers* wrong, giving it as March 1588–9.

vortiger . . . the some of xxxx^{s}.' Here *vortiger* was originally written *mortimer*. The play in question seems to have been the *Valteger* performed by the Admiral's men twelve times between 4 December 1596 and 2 April 1597.[1] Greg suggests that this old play may have underlain *Hengist King of Kent* (the title of an MS. of Middleton's *Mayor of Queenborough*) in which Vortiger and Vortimer are both characters. The second name may suggest how the confusion in Henslowe's mind arose, if confusion there was. Of course there may have been a distinct play, called *Mortimer* or having a Mortimer as a prominent character. And it is not quite impossible, though very improbable, that Henslowe's *mortymore* may be *Edward II* itself.

Mr. J. M. Robertson[2] assumes that *Edward II* had no success on the stage and offers 'obvious reasons' for the fact, viz. that 'it obtrudes a theme always offensive', and that presenting the king who lost the battle of Bannockburn, the unheroic son of a famous conqueror, it could not have gratified Elizabethan patriotic sentiment. The theme objected to is, of course, that of perverted sexual passion, to which we know that Marlowe had some leaning from the Baines deposition, *Dido*, and *Hero and Leander*. It is unnecessary to say that such a theme would not have been offensive to an Elizabethan audience; it is not in any case true that it is unpleasantly obtruded in this play. There is no doubt a hint of it in Gaveston's plan of campaign at the opening and in other places (e.g. I. ii. 51 ff., I. iv. 150 ff.), but for the most part Edward's favourites are presented, as in Holinshed, only as the objects of infatuated friendship. As for the other objection, Shakespeare's *Richard II* lies open to it, and plays on the deposition of kings seem to have met with a good deal of interest in the last decade of the century.

We cannot in any case take *Edward II* to have been an

[1] Greg, *Henslowe*, ii. 181. Edward Jube (Juby) was an Admiral's man.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

unsuccessful play merely because we have no notice of its reception. It had four and probably five early editions, and was still accounted capable of attracting an audience more than ten years after its first performances. Moreover, it must have been well known to other dramatists since echoes from it occur in various plays of date about 1592–3. From these circumstances as well as from such of its qualities as must have been novel in the drama of 1591, we may assume that Pembroke's men had at least some measure of success with *Edward II*.

The play does not appear to have been often revived in modern times. Mr. William Poel produced it for the Elizabethan Stage Society at Oxford, 10 August 1903. Dibelius, who was present, found the favourite scenes too much alike and thought they should have been cut, and he objected to the staging of the dungeon scene; but concludes: 'Der Zuschauer kam nie aus dem Bann der Tragödie heraus.'[1] The writer of *The Times* notice,[2] however, thought the text was cut too much. The producer apparently tried to force the character of the Queen into consistency by leaving out some of her more passionate declarations of love for the King, and curtailed the death scene, probably expecting it to be too strong for modern tastes. The part of Edward was acted by Mr. Granville Barker, who seems to have emphasized the weak and vacillating side of the character at the expense of its more kingly attributes. The *Times* reviewer evidently admired the play too much to be easily satisfied with the performance 'which, though occasionally lacking in inspiration, was careful and scholarly throughout'.

The play was acted also by students of Birkbeck College, London, in December 1920.[3]

[1] *Nazionalzeitung*, 8 September 1903.
[2] *Times*, 11 August 1903. See also *Athenaeum*, 7 March 1914.
[3] Tucker Brooke, *Reputation of C.M., Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences*, 1922.

V

HISTORICAL SOURCES

Edward II is based almost entirely on Holinshed's *Chronicles of England* either in the first or second edition (1577 or 1587). Consequently it is with Holinshed's account of the reign that we must chiefly concern ourselves, though the work of modern scholars may help us to determine how far Marlowe, building upon the chronicler's disjointed narrative, succeeds in reaching the human truth of his story. Professor Tout has referred to our play as 'Marlowe's powerful but unhistorical tragedy',[1] and unhistorical it certainly is, dealing drastically enough even with Holinshed as we shall see; yet the same authority's summary of the personal aspects of the reign does not suggest that any one whose idea of the characters of Edward and Gaveston was drawn from the play would be altogether badly informed. Edward of Carnarvon, says Professor Tout, 'had no other wish than to amuse himself. . . . If he did not like work, he was not very vicious; he stuck loyally to his friends and was fairly harmless, being nobody's enemy so much as his own. . . . Edward . . . and his intimates have been on the whole rather too severely judged at the bar of history. Yet the most friendly eye can see little to praise in any of [them], though it may be admitted that they have at least as much human nature in them as [is] in the singularly unattractive leaders of the baronial opposition'.[2] Of Gaveston Stubbs has written, 'he had no friend but the king. With all his wealth he gained no favour with the poor nor endowed any religious house. But no harshness, cruelty, or oppression is laid to his charge; he is not said to have usurped any other man's rights. . . . Edward's regard for him is the one redeeming strong feature

[1] See T. F. Tout, *The Place of Edward II in English History*, 1914, p. 14.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 11–16.

of his [Edward's] shallow but sensitive nature. Unquestionably he was attached to him as his friend from childhood and admired him both as endowed with accomplishments which he did not himself possess, and as having a stronger mind and a readier, clearer will than his own. He worked hard to avenge him and endowed a house of friars to pray for his soul and watch his tomb. It was reserved for a later generation to discover an element of vice in what his contemporaries viewed with pitying indignation as a stupid but faithful infatuation.'[1] Whether there is anything in these judgments with which Marlowe's presentation of the characters is essentially at variance, we may leave the reader to decide.

The reign in Holinshed's account does not at first sight present promising dramatic material. Drawn up in chronological sequence, its events are disconnected and uninspiringly disastrous; the sources drawn upon have not been co-ordinated, a defect which leaves its mark in turn upon Marlowe's play. Yet the shadow of a theme is thrown over the whole by the chronicler's moralizing mind, that of a weak king, 'of a good and courteous nature though not of most pregnant wit', unreasonable and incurably in the wrong, unable to stand alone yet choosing deplorable counsellors, mismanaging the country's affairs at home and abroad, and bringing himself at last to an end which would have been deserved if it had not been so unspeakably brutal. Edward's ineffectuality, his favourites, his angry barons, his revolted wife, and his wretched end, are already the outstanding features of what Holinshed himself calls 'the pitifull tragedie of this kings tyme'.[2]

[1] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, 1883, ii. pp. xlix–l. It has not seemed necessary to follow up Miss Ellis-Fermor's reference (*Marlowe*, p. 116) to an article on *Was King Edward II a degenerate?* in *The American Journal of Insanity*, January 1910. This appears to represent the characteristic view of an even later generation, which could neither have been shared nor disagreed with by Marlowe.

[2] J. M. Berdan, *op. cit.*, says that Marlowe's audience would not have questioned Edward's right to do as he liked. They would only have seen in his behaviour 'certain light crimes'; and his treatment of the Bishop

Upon these elements Marlowe built up his plot, finding it, of course, necessary to pass over much that was irrelevant to his purpose and to rearrange what he retained. In the former category are not only many totally unconnected episodes such as the suppression of the Templars, or the appearance of a pretender called Poydras or Ponderham who declared that Edward was a carter's son and himself the rightful king, but also the luckless military affairs in Ireland, France and the north, which would have given little satisfaction to an Elizabethan audience, and many incidents in Edward's long-drawn-out struggle with his barons. Taking up only the most essential events and relationships, Marlowe boldly rearranges them in a rapid sequence. The stringency of his compression may be readily and conveniently seen from the following time analysis, in which Holinshed's dates for the events are given.

Act I. *Sc. i.* Return of Gaveston and imprisonment of the Bishop of Coventry [**both 1307**]. The latter event is discussed in

Sc. ii. which takes us on with only a short lapse of time (see lines 69–70) through the five-lined sc. iii. to

Sc. iv. Meeting of the barons at the New Temple [**1308**], banishment of Gaveston [**1308**], his recall [**1309**]. The next scene

Act II. *Sc. i.* follows quickly after the last (see ll. 17–18). It introduces Spencer, Baldock and the King's niece [**unhistorical, but Gaveston married the lady 1307**]. Ll. 75–6 suggest that

Sc. ii. follows quickly after, but compare I. iv. 385 with l. 113—there has been time for Mortimer Senior to get to Scotland and be captured. Return of Gaveston ; he insults the lords [**1312**]. This long action appears to take place at Tynmouth (l. 51) ; consequently

of Coventry would have been applauded as a pleasant despoiling of the Egyptians. But whatever the attitude of the audience may have been, the chroniclers of that age took no light view of Edward's folly ; they are unanimous in condemning it, however strongly they may also condemn the disloyalty of his enemies.

Act II. Sc. iii. must follow immediately (see l. 16). Kent joins the King's enemies [1326] who set out to capture Gaveston. This leads at once to

Sc. iv. flight of Gaveston to Scarborough,

Sc. v. his capture,

Act III. Sc. i. and execution [1312].

Sc. ii. Here there is a short gap of time, the King awaiting news of Gaveston's fate. While he waits Spencer Senior is presented to him, and Spencer Junior is provided with money to buy lands [1321]; news comes of disasters in France [1323–4]; Edward orders the Queen to go as ambassadress [1325]; Gaveston's death is announced [1312] and is at once followed by a demand for the exile of the Spencers [1321] and preparations for war [1322]. This, the most crowded piece of action in the play, is immediately followed by

Sc. iii. the battle, Edward's triumph, and the execution of the barons [1322]. In the same scene, though really a separate action, is Spencer's plan to prevent the Queen's gaining the ear of the King of France [1326]. No gap of time is allowable, however, since the next scene

Act IV. Sc. i. has been led up to by III. iii. 47. Mortimer now escapes [1323].

Sc. ii. The Queen in France. Enough time must have elapsed to allow Mortimer and Edmund to reach her. She goes to Hainault [1326]. The next scene

Sc. iii. contains a report of this and so must be shortly afterwards.

Sc. iv. Here there is a break of uncertain duration. The Queen has gathered forces and arrives in England [1326]; but since the King had been about to retreat to Bristol in the last scene, the impression is one of speedy consequence. L. 28 leads rapidly past a short gap to

Sc. v. the defeat of the King and execution of Spencer Senior [1326].

Sc. vi. A short space of time here allows the King to escape to the Abbey of Neath [1326], where he is seized and taken to Kenilworth [1327].

Act V. *Sc. i.* At Kenilworth. The King gives up his crown and is given into the care of Berkeley [1327].

Sc. ii. The last action is reported to Mortimer in London. Matrevis and Gurney are sent to the King.

Sc. iii. They have arrived and take him from place to place.

Sc. iv. An indeterminate interval. Mortimer deciding the fate of the King. The gap cannot be long since Kent, arrested in the last scene, is here brought to Mortimer and beheaded [1330]. Lightborn sent to the King.

Sc. v. Lightborn arrives and the King is murdered [1327].

Sc. vi. Matrevis reports the murder. Action now continues to the end. Mortimer executed [1330].

It will be seen that none of the gaps can possibly be long. The only indications of a lapse of time which have crept in are the reference to the king's youth in I. iv. 397 and his calling himself 'old Edward' [1] at V. iii. 23. There is no reference to his marriage, so that the appearance of a grown-up son has no time significance. According to a strict analysis the action could be compassed within a year, in which Edward lost wife, crown, and life; the impression on the mind is both one of rapid development and of the passage of considerable time; the actual period embraced is from 1307 to 1330.

So vigorous a compression was not to be accomplished without difficulty, and some of the faults of the play are obviously attributable to it. The dramatist sometimes seems like a man trying to tie up a parcel in a piece of paper too small for it. So much banishing, recalling, threatening, and reconciliation in so quick a sequence have an uneasy effect; the Queen's behaviour, easily understandable in a period of twenty odd years, seems quite

[1] In Capgrave's *Chronicle* (reprint 1858, p. 198) the phrase 'the old Edward' occurs twice, apparently to distinguish him from the new Edward, Edward III. The King's age at his death was 47.

improbable within the apparent time limits of the play; and the dénouement, although it makes an orderly finish, is very abrupt and unlikely. Marlowe had already taken great liberties with the chronicler's record; his tragedy might have been more perfect if he had allowed himself an even greater freedom. Nevertheless the selection and adaptation of material show a degree of technical skill and an awareness of strictly dramatic requirements for which there was little precedent in Marlowe's earlier plays and none at all in the English history plays which he had before him.

The dramatist's imagination was no doubt first drawn to the subject by the pathos and horror of Edward's end, which had already produced the most moving parts of Holinshed's account. When the deputation arrived to demand his abandonment of the throne,[1] 'the King, being sore troubled to heare suche displeasant newes, was brought into a marueylous agonie: but in the ende, for the quyet of the Realme and doubt of further daunger to hymselfe, he determyned to follow theyr aduice, and so . . . in presence of them all, (notwithstanding his outward countenaunce discouered howe muche it inwardly grieued him) yet after he was come to himself, he answered that he knew that he was fallen into this miserie through hys owne offences, and therefore he was contented paciently to suffer it; but yet it coulde not (hee sayde) but grieue hym, that he had in such wise runne into the hatred of all his people: notwithstanding he gaue the lords moste heartie thankes, that they had so forgotten theyr receyued iniuryes, and ceassed not to beare so muche good wyll towardes hys sonne Edwarde, as to wishe that hee myght raigne ouer them. Therefore to satisfie them, sithe otherwise it might not be, hee utterly renounced hys right to the Kingdome, and to the whole administration thereof. And lastlye besought the

[1] The *Vita et Mors Edwardi Secundi*, and other chronicles which follow it, say that the king fainted on this occasion.

Lordes nowe in his miserie to forgiue him such offences as he had committed agaynst them.' [1]

Marlowe's king speaks very differently on this occasion, yet he is not less miserable; and indeed in general he is closely modelled on his chronicle prototype, as the notes to the text will show. 'The first king after the Conquest who was not a man of business', as Stubbs calls him, is described in Holinshed as being frivolous and lacking in serious interests; capable of vigorous action at times but usually indolent and inefficient, except in the final campaign against the barons where he was greatly aided by Lancaster's even greater inefficiency; not lacking 'stoutnesse of stomake, if his evill counsaylers had bene remoued, that he might have shewed it in honourable exploytes, which being kept backe by them, he coulde not doe'; moreover 'indifferently tall of stature, strong of bodie, and healthfull', his 'tough nature', as in the play, frustrating the attempts of his gaolers to kill him by ill-treatment.

Coming to this figure after *Tamburlaine*, and *The Jew of Malta*, Marlowe characteristically finds in him too a study of will; but will without power such as Tamburlaine's, without magic such as Faustus's; wilfulness consequently rather than will, blind determination to have his own way without the means of securing it. His desires have an extraordinary persistence. Weak and foolish as he may be, he never gives way more than momentarily; he constantly takes up a militant attitude and is much more active than Richard II with whom he is so often compared. Even at the end, like Tamburlaine when faced by death, he can hardly realize his disaster; in the act of miserably offering Lightborn his last jewel to spare his life, he exclaims 'Know that I am a King!' This stubborn self-assertion

[1] Ed. 1577, p. 882. The substance of this speech, somewhat elaborated by Holinshed, is to be found in most other chroniclers. Fabyan's *Chronicle*, 1533, sig. OO iiii v°, says the king 'toke greate repētaũce of hys former lyfe, and made a lamentable complaynte for that he hadde so greuously offended God'. Fabyan goes on to give various religious and moralizing poems supposed to have been written by Edward whilst in captivity.

bears the mark of his creator. It is obvious that Marlowe could not have allowed him to repent and apologize as he does in Holinshed. On the contrary he exclaims

> How have I transgressed
> Unless it be with too much clemency?

The variation is clearly deliberate. Edward had wanted his own way; had struggled for it and had at last been frustrated; whence agony, rage, and abject despair, but never even at the direst moment, any admission that he had been in the wrong.

Round the central figure of the King Marlowe wove a close-knit pattern of friends and enemies. Among the former Piers Gaveston is the dominating figure and for several reasons is made to play an unhistorically important part. His reckless and pleasure-loving nature appealed to the dramatist; being the friend of Edward's youth he was the King's favourite in a more real sense than the Spencers ever could have been; Holinshed's account of the reign begins with his recall and the imprisonment of the Bishop of Coventry, a significant and sensational opening; and there are not wanting touches in the chronicle which indicate that Edward never forgot his loss in after years. Gaveston had been Edward's boon companion from early days, and in 1305 had persuaded the prince to break into the Bishop of Coventry's park, an offence for which Edward was imprisoned by his father and Gaveston banished.[1] Marlowe omits all reference to their early companionship (except in calling the Bishop 'the only cause' of Gaveston's exile). The omission has been criticized on the ground that it leaves Edward's affection unexplained, but such extreme infatuations are in any case inexplicable—Holinshed himself calls it 'a wonderful matter'.[2] The dramatist was

[1] Holinshed, p. 825. Walter Langton is there called, as often in the chronicles, Bishop of Chester, this being the most usual designation of the see at the time.

[2] *2nd ed.*, iii. 320. Not in *1st ed.*

rightly concerned only with making the nature of the relationship clear at the outset. Gaveston is elaborated without any very notable departure from Holinshed's account of the light-hearted and totally irresponsible Gascon who led the King into 'wātonnes . . . voluptuous pleasure and riottous excesse', furnishing the court with 'cōpanies of Jesters, ruffiās, flattering parasites, musitions, and other vile and naughty ribaulds'; seeming to disdain all the peers and barons of the realm, for 'being a goodly gentleman and a stoute, he woulde not once yeelde an ynche to any of them', on one occasion calling them very insulting names.[1] Actually he was twice banished after Edward came to the throne; Marlowe runs the two occasions together. His appropriation of a table reputed to have belonged to King Arthur is a picturesque touch which might have appealed to some contemporary dramatists but is not mentioned by Marlowe. Occurring in 1312, his death must have been a far-off sorrow when the King met his doom; but the whole series of events has been foreshortened in the play, and Edward can there with probability say, 'O Gaveston, it is for thee that I am wronged.' It was necessary to make his attitude to the King more definite than it is in Holinshed who has little to say about it, and that not suggestive of disinterested affection. In Marlowe, Gaveston like the other favourites is redeemed from meanness by a devotion which increases as the play goes on. At first, though prepared to 'die upon the bosom of [his] lord', he has sufficient forethought to devise means whereby

[1] Cf. Tout, p. 81: 'The most hostile chroniclers admit that the favourite comported himself against the Scots like a gallant warrior.' P. 12: 'The worst that can be said against him is that he was not a serious politician, that he never aspired to office in the state, that he had too keen an eye to the main chance, that he looked too closely after the financial interests of his Gascon kinsfolk, that his head was so turned by his elevation that he became offensively bumptious, and that he had a pretty but dangerous gift of affixing stinging nicknames alike on his friends and enemies.' Tout thinks that he was never really chamberlain (p. 12), and that he was not really objectionable to the barons as a foreigner and an upstart. They destroyed him mainly as an enemy of baronial pretensions (pp. 14–15).

he may 'draw the pliant king' which way he chooses; later his love is as unmistakable to the reader as it is to the infatuated King. The last words he speaks, 'Treacherous earl, shall I not see the king?' stand as the final evidence of this. They have the authority of Holinshed and many other chroniclers.

The Spencers are treated with much greater freedom. Neither they nor Baldock had any connexion at first with the Earl of Gloucester, though the younger Spencer subsequently married one of the three sisters who had been left that nobleman's heirs after his death at Bannockburn. Nor were the Spencers needy adventurers. Holinshed is a little inconsistent at their first appearance. They are named when after the death of Gaveston the King 'chose such to be about him . . . which were knowne to be mē of corrupt and most wicked liuing'; afterwards when the younger Spencer was made Chamberlain, he was displeasing to the King but 'quickly crept into hys fauour, and that further than those that preferred him could haue wished'.[1] Dramatic economy forces them into the position of mere appendages to Gaveston, Spencer Junior and Baldock first appearing as needy persons who attach themselves to the King's favourite for their own advantage, and in due course are presented by him to the King. This device neatly telescopes two separate phases of Edward's career. The Spencers were too closely associated with his fall to be left out altogether; and since they had to be used, Marlowe's treatment of them as an extension of the Gaveston theme is highly ingenious. Edward's open-hearted reception of

[1] Cf. Tout, p. 15: 'There is more to be said for the younger Hugh le Despenser than there is for Gaveston. Indeed it is hard to see how this son of the mighty baron, who had devoted his life to the service of the great Edward, was in any invidious sense a favourite at all. At least he was not so till the year 1321. He was doubtlessly greedy and ambitious, but he had brains enough to formulate something like a theory of constitutional law.' His father had been the only baron who took Gaveston's side in the earlier quarrels; the son supported the opposition and continued to do so until they gave him the office of Chamberlain (Stubbs, *op. cit.*, p. lii).

them admirably illustrates his love for Gaveston ; and when Gaveston dies they remain at hand to demonstrate the King's fatal need for bosom companions. They are associated with the Gascon in his mind in the hour of his fall—

> For me, both thou and both the Spencers died !

Handling them in this fashion, Marlowe of course omits most of what Holinshed had to say about them ; and again as in the case of Gaveston, to show Edward's power of exciting affection, he makes them a good deal more disinterested in their loyalty than Holinshed gives any warrant for.

> Rent, sphere of heaven, and, fire, forsake thy orb,
> Earth, melt to air ! gone is my sovereign,
> Gone, gone, alas, never to make return,

says the younger Spencer somewhat rhetorically when the King is led away. Holinshed says nothing about their feeling for him, leaving them to be included among those bad counsellors whose aim had only been the acquisition of ' riches and honour '. It is obvious from his pages that they feathered their nest well ; and although the chronicler reports that the younger Spencer refused to eat after his capture, this might most credibly be the result not so much of grief as of a desire to make his captors put an end to him quickly, or actually to forestall them.

About Robert Baldock Holinshed says little. He first appears, ' a man evil beloved in the realm ', in 1322, when he was made Lord Chancellor.[1] He, Arundel, and Simon Reding, according to Holinshed, were ' great fauourers of y^{e} Spẽcers ', and owed their rise to them ; Marlowe has omitted Reding altogether, although he was taken at

[1] He was a doctor of civil law, and, as Marlowe indicates, he had been at Oxford. Tout calls him a ' well-trained, able, and pushing ward-robe clerk ' (*op. cit.*, p. 135).

Neath Abbey with the others and was hanged on a pair of gallows only ten feet lower than the younger Spencer's.

While dovetailing so skilfully the careers of the King's favourites, Marlowe was obliged also to rearrange the King's enemies. In Holinshed the opposition to Piers consists first of Lincoln, Warwick, Pembroke, Gloucester, Arundel, Hereford and others. Lincoln died in 1311, laying a death-bed injunction on Lancaster his son-in-law to maintain the quarrel with Gaveston. These lords were responsible for Gaveston's death, as in the play; Pembroke [1] intervening to save him and Warwick treacherously frustrating the effort. The King was 'wonderfully displeased' and 'euer sought occasion howe to worke them displeasure'. Guy of Warwick was, however, removed from his vengeance by a natural death in 1315. Thereafter Lancaster [2] appears to head the opposition to the Spencers, the two Mortimers being of the same faction. Coming by force to the parliament at Westminster in 1321, the lords constrained Arundel and Pembroke, who were now on the King's side, some bishops and others, to agree to their purpose, and decreed the banishment of the Spencers. Later in the year, the King, supported by various prelates and among others by his half-brother Edmund, Arundel and Pembroke, revoked the decree; whereupon Lancaster and his allies prepared for action. But Edward was now resolute, having the additional stimulus of an affront put upon the Queen at Leeds in Kent, and marched vigorously against them. There were two battles, which in Marlowe merge into one.

[1] He parted company with the barons in consequence of their treatment of Gaveston. Tout calls him 'the most intelligent of the higher nobles. Pembroke is, I think, the most neglected character of the reign, and in many ways the most interesting and attractive of the lay nobles. If we are to make a hero in the reign at all, earl Aymer of Pembroke has surely the best claim to that distinction' (*op. cit.*, p. 18). Stubbs calls him 'the king's wisest and truest friend' (*op. cit.*, p. lxxix). All this does not appear in Holinshed, nor consequently in Marlowe.

[2] Tout describes Earl Thomas of Lancaster as 'sulky, vindictive, self-seeking, brutal and vicious. . . . His treatment of Gaveston was dishonourable to the last degree.' Warwick was 'almost as unlovely as Lancaster' (*op. cit.*, p. 17).

The first was at Burton-on-Trent, the King being present. Lancaster pusillanimously took to flight, and, coming to Pomfret, contemplated asking the King's pardon ; but on his way to a safe retreat whence the matter might be negotiated, he was intercepted at Boroughbridge by a force under Sir Andrew Hercley (or Hartley) 15 March 1322. Lancaster was taken, tried before a court which included Edmund of Kent, Pembroke and Arundel, and executed at Pomfret. 'Thus the King seemed to be reuenged of the displeasure done to hym by the Earle of Lancaster, for the beheading of Peeres de Gavaston Earle of Cornewall, whome hee so deerely loued, and bycause the Earle of Lancaster was the Chiefe occasioner of his deathe, the King neuer loued hym entierly after.' Before these battles the Mortimers had submitted to the King, and had been imprisoned in the Tower where the elder died in 1326. Holinshed carelessly leaves out all reference to this, although the information is to be found in several of the chroniclers upon whom he drew. Opposition to the Spencers now devolved upon others. The Bishop of Hereford was accused of aiding the rebels and arrested ; but a formidable party of prelates rescued him, defying the King and breathing excommunications. Meanwhile Mortimer escaped from the Tower, the Queen went to France, refused to come home again, and going to Hainault raised a force 2,757 in number with which she landed at Orwell near Harwich, 25 Sept. 1326. With her came Edmund of Kent and the younger Mortimer.

Marlowe has simplified the whole series of events very greatly. The quarrel over Gaveston and the Spencers is now one and the same quarrel. Warwick has been kept alive to support Lancaster and to share his fate. The Mortimers have been associated with the enemies of Gaveston with whom they had actually no concern. The great prominence given to these Mortimers, particularly to the younger of them, arises from the need to bring the end

of the play into close relation with the beginning. In Holinshed, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore is the foremost ally of the Queen from the time when she lands in England; and for the first three years of Edward III's reign he enjoys supreme power. He brings about the execution of Kent in 1330 and 'ruleth all thinges at his pleasure'. His amour with the Queen is not mentioned until his own arrest and execution later in the same year, but may be inferred to have been going on from the time when they were together in France.[1] Arundel and others were executed through his procurement in 1326—he 'hated them extremely, by reason whereof they were not like to speede much better, for what he willed the same was done, and without him the Queene in all these matters did nothing'. By carrying their relationship back in time and making Mortimer the centre of opposition to Gaveston as well as to the Spencers, Marlowe secures continuity and creates a sub-plot very closely related to the main issue; though at the expense of at least one weakness—Mortimer's imprisonment in the Tower at a time when by all probabilities the King should have had him executed with Lancaster and Warwick. In Holinshed both Mortimers seem to have first taken sides against the King in 1320, when they and others wished to buy certain lands in the Marches which the younger Spencer obtained over their heads. (Marlowe has a not very explicit reference to this affair at III. ii. 53–5.) They then figure for a time among Lancaster's confederates, submitting to the King as we have seen before Boroughbridge. That Edward either feared or hated young Mortimer very greatly is obvious from the hue and cry raised at his escape and by the prize of 1,000 marks set upon his head when he landed in England with

[1] Adam of Murimuth, one of Holinshed's chief sources (ed. Maunde Thompson, 1889, p. 45), says that the Queen and her son remained in France 'ut dicebatur inviti, et aliis asserentibus quod voluntarie, propter nimiam familiaritatem contractam inter dictam reginam et dominum R de Mortuo mari'.

the Queen, a special distinction for which Holinshed offers no explanation.[1]

The ecclesiastics in Marlowe's play are all opposed to the King; in actuality, as might be supposed, they were sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. The Bishop of Hereford, however, was contumacious from 1322 onwards, when he was sharply checked for taking part with the King's enemies. In 1324 he was 'arrested and examined upon points of treason', but refused to answer the charges, being shielded as we have seen by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates. Holinshed makes this Adam of Hereford responsible for the King's death. His 'hatred towardes hym had no ende'. It was he who sent the 'riddle' or ambiguous message to Matrevis and Gurney.[2] Economy again leads Marlowe to transfer this action to Young Mortimer, whose character is thereby considerably blackened; the common point between chronicle and play being the vile complicity of the Queen.

The Queen herself, like Mortimer, is made by Marlowe an active participant in the King's quarrels a good deal earlier than in Holinshed. At her first appearance in the play, her age historically should be sixteen. After her marriage to Edward, following upon the recall of Gaveston, she is not mentioned by Holinshed until near the end of the reign; there is no remark on her feelings towards Gaveston,[3] nor for some time is it suggested that she dis-

[1] The elder Mortimer disappears silently from the pages of Holinshed; his similar disappearance from Marlowe's play after his quite unhistorical captivity among the Scots is thus accounted for. It is a loose end which the dramatist neglected.

[2] Of course it is not likely that any such message was really sent. But see note to V. iv. 6.

[3] Chroniclers, however, whom Holinshed and perhaps Marlowe knew, do something to supply the deficiency. For example Capgrave (ed. 1858, p. 176) and Walsingham (ed. 1863, p. 125) record that in 1309 the Queen wrote to her father the King of France to complain of her great poverty, occasioned by the impoverishment of the King by Gaveston's extravagance. The *Polychronicon* (ed. 1882, viii. 301) is even closer to the circumstances of the play: 'Bycause of [Gaveston] he was recheless of Isabel the Queen and rouȝt nouȝt of the lords of the land'. Stow (*Annals*, 1592, p. 324, *sub* 1311) says that the barons found that so long as Piers lived 'there

liked the Spencers. Indeed Holinshed says that up to the time when in 1321 an adherent of the barons refused to admit her into Leeds castle for the night, she had always attempted to keep the peace between the two sides. This incident, however, enraged her and she urged the King on to crush them. She had cause to hate the Spencers by this time. The Queen, says Holinshed, ' for that she gaue good and faithfull counsaile, was nothing regarded, but by the Spencers meanes cleerely worne out of the Kings fauour '. He reports that Simon Reding, their protégé, used her ' verie uncurteously '. It is then not surprising that when the King proposed to send her over to France as his ambassadress, she showed a good deal more willingness to go than to come back again. Requests, threats, proclamations, letters from the Pope all failed to persuade her to return, until at last she came with a party determined to get rid of the Spencers for ever.

Marlowe's shadowy portrait shows her acted upon by entirely personal motives. At the outset, neglected and forlorn, she secures Gaveston's recall from banishment in the hope of gaining favour with her husband. So doing she is brought into contact with Mortimer and wins his sympathy. She is apparently devoted to the King, yet nevertheless the dramatist contrives to suggest a ready and growing mutual attraction between her and the rebel lord. When he advises her to cry quittance and cease loving the King, she replies :

> No, rather will I die a thousand deaths :
> And yet I love in vain ; he'll ne'er love me.

But within a few minutes she is seated aside, giving Mortimer ' reasons of weight ' and smiling ; and the hot-tempered lord turns into a peacemaker. The barons notice nothing amiss, nor need we ; and yet such passages and the King's

would be no peace in the kingdom, nor the King to abound in treasure, nor the Queen to enjoy the King's true love '. (The passage does not occur in Stow's earlier works.)

innuendoes, taken together with her protestations of faithful love, leave a confused impression, of which the best that can be said is that it does at least prevent surprise at the later turn of events. By II. iv. 60 Mortimer has entirely gained her affection but still she talks of going to France to solicit her brother's help in regaining her husband's love. Thereafter her relations with Mortimer follow in the wake of Holinshed, their amour, as in the chronicle, never coming to open light.[1] So much devotion and so cruel a desertion, so much gentleness at the beginning and such callous hypocrisy at the end, go badly together ; and critics have often complained with some reason of Marlowe's handling of the character. It has resulted partly from the unhistorical working up of the character at the beginning, and partly from the time-compression, that conduct seeming incomprehensible within a short period which in twenty-three years is only too credible. Both in play and chronicle, however, the King has clearly to bear the blame for his wife's degradation.

As for her young son whose vigour at the end gives promise of a better time to come, Marlowe's short sketch is skilful and pleasing. His reluctance to do his father wrong has behind it the authority of Holinshed, who records that the Queen's pretended grief was so effective as to make the prince refuse the crown unless his father had consented to give it up. The sudden turning of the tables upon Mortimer is of course antedated to round off the play expeditiously,[2] and young Edward was not really responsible for it. Mortimer was attainted of treason in a parliament of 1330 and executed the same year. The charges against him included that of having procured the late King's murder, and that of having been ' more priuie

[1] In the play, Kent is the only character who knows of it, and he is put out of the way. In the chronicle it is reported as one of the charges against Mortimer at his downfall.

[2] In the *Polychronicon* the executions of Edmund and Mortimer are reported immediately after the close of Edward's life, without any indication of date.

with Queene Isabell the Kynges mother, than stood eyther with Gods law, or the kynges pleasure'. Poetical justice is observed also in the committing of the Queen to the Tower; actually she was given £1,000 a year, ordered to stay in one place, and visited by her son dutifully once a year. This was in the year of Mortimer's execution, 1330.

There remains the vacillating figure of Edmund the King's brother, or as he really was, half-brother.[1] Holinshed throws little light on him, though it is not right to say, as Tancock does, that he is the poet's own creation, or, as Briggs does, that he was a person of no importance. Indeed, Marlowe's interpretation of the facts given by Holinshed is as likely as any other. At the point where he first appears in the play he was really only six years old. Holinshed represents him as an active supporter of the King, present at the siege of Leeds Castle and at Burton-on-Trent; he was one of Lancaster's judges and fought rather unsuccessfully against the French in Guyenne. Suddenly and without any explanation he appears among the Queen's party landing at Orwell, and subsequently takes part in the capture of the elder Spencer. But the King's misfortunes seem to have awakened his sympathies; for it was the discovery that Edmund had begun to plot a rescue that caused Mortimer to have the King murdered without delay. Moreover, in 1329, having been persuaded by a magic-mongering monk that Edward was still alive, he again conspired to rescue him. He was then arrested and executed, 1330, chiefly, adds Holinshed, 'through the malice of the Queene mother, and of the Earle of Marche [Mortimer]: whose pride and hygh presumption the sayd Earle of Kente myght not well abyde'. Thus there is authority for the wavering part he plays in the drama.

[1] Froissart, whose account of the reign is highly inaccurate, calls Kent 'Sir Aymon erle of Cane' and reports him to have been 'right wys, amiable, gentle and welbeloved with al people' (Berners' *Froissart, Tudor Translations*, i. 21).

There, loyal to his brother through many difficulties, he suddenly, as in Holinshed, though at a different point and with more reason given, joins the opposition. When the Barons are captive he speaks on their behalf and is vaguely banished. This confirms his hostility to the King and he leaves for France with Mortimer to join the Queen. His purpose, unlike theirs, is to reclaim Edward 'For England's honour, peace, and quietness'; but realizing the King's plight and the Queen's adultery, his sympathies veer again and he begins to dissemble, comes out into open remorse, attempts to rescue the King, and loses his life. Marlowe's idea of linking him with the young prince was original and happy in its effect. Edmund of Kent is not a very clear nor a very interesting character; but he gives variety to the dramatic tension, and the part he plays at the end helps to enlist sympathy for the much-suffering King.

Holinshed's harrowing account of Edward's last days is based on the extract from Geoffrey le Baker which used to be called the chronicle of Sir Thomas de la More. How much of it is true nobody will ever know; [1] but according to Geoffrey, Sir Thomas actually visited the King at Kenilworth in the train of Bishop Stratford, a member of the deputation which went to demand Edward's abdication, in January 1327. Marlowe follows the account closely. It appears that the actual murder, diabolically contrived to leave no visible sign of violence, reminded Marlowe of the gruesome ingenuity of Renascence assassins, and he invents the unhistorical but unforgettable Lightborn [2] to carry it out, whose professional pride makes the blood run cold. The result is a certain inconsistency at the end for which

[1] For a close examination of the historical evidence see Tout, *The Captivity and Death of Edward of Carnarvon, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vol. vi, 1920.

[2] His name as well as his function appears to have been invented by Marlowe. Tzschaschel points out that a Henry de Leiborne was taken prisoner at the battle of Boroughbridge, but a German pronunciation makes that name more similar than it really is.

we may be thankful. Marlowe could cheerfully drop Barabas into a boiling cauldron *coram populo*, but was bound to stop short of the horror of Edward's end. Nothing but a single mention of a spit remains to explain Lightborn's 'braver way'; and perhaps that was sufficient for Marlowe's audience.

A few incidents in the play are not to be found in Holinshed. The most striking of them is the scene where Matrevis and Gurney wash the King in puddle water and shave his beard away. The ultimate source of this is the *Vita et Mors Edwardi Secundi* which was not published until 1602, in Camden's *Anglica, Normannica*, etc. But there were at least two Elizabethan transcripts, one of which was possibly written by Samuel Daniel, and one of which was at one time in Stow's hands—it was he who gave it to Camden. The story there is said to have been reported by an eye-witness. 'Ita mihi retulit vivens post magnam pestilentiam Guilelmus Bisschop qui ductoribus Edwardi sodalis unde confessus et contritus poenituit, sub spe misericordiae divinae.' [1] The incident took place in a marsh by the Severn. Marlowe places it vaguely at night-time by the road-side near to Kenilworth Castle. There is little doubt that he found the story in Stow, *Annals of England*, 1580, p. 356; the passage is quoted in the notes. No chronicler who tells the story at all omits the passage about the King's request for warm water ('quoth Edward, will ye or nil ye, I will have warm water; and that he might keep his promise, he began to weep and shed tears plentifully'). Marlowe's scene was perhaps too violently conceived to admit this pathetic fancy.

The placing of Gaveston's marriage after his return from exile instead of before it has been said also to have originated in Stow, who so places it. But so slight an accommodation of fact hardly needs the support of a chronicler.

[1] Ed. Stubbs, 1883, p. 317. See also pp. lix–lxvii.

The jig scornfully quoted by Lancaster in Act II sc. ii is to be found in Fabyan's *Chronicle* (1533, *sig.* nn iiii) where Marlowe perhaps read it. There are slight differences of reading :

> ' Maydens of Englonde, sore maye ye morne
> For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockisborne.
> With heue a lowe.
> What wenyth the kynge of Englonde
> So soone to haue wonne Scotlande,
> With rombylowe.

This song was after many dayes songe in daunces in y^e^ carolles of the maydens and minstrels of Scotlande, to y^e^ reprofe and disdayne of Englysshe men, with dyuers other which I ouerpasse '.[1]

Thaler (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, February 1923) suggests that the story of ' The Two Rogers ', which appeared in 1571 in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, might originally have roused a youthful interest in the young Mortimer of our play. *How the two Rogers, surnamed Mortimers, for their sundry vices, ended their lives unfortunately, the one, An.* 1329, *the other,* 1387, is concerned mainly with the latter, who is supposed to tell the story and who passes over his kinsman with a brief passage at the beginning :

> The finall cause why I this processe tell
> Is that I may be knowen from this other.

Our Mortimer is described as one

> In whom Dame Fortune fully showed her kind,
> For whom she heaves she hurleth down as fast.

There is a brief account of his pride and power, and the charges brought against him are versified ; among them :

[1] The song is to be found also in the *Brut* (ed. F. W. D. Brie, 1906, p. 208). Fabyan's version is the closer, and it was no doubt he who gave the song to Marlowe.

That through his means Sir Edward of Carnarvan
In Barkely Castle traiterously was slaine:
That with his Princes mother he had laine,
And finally, with polling at his pleasure,
Had rob'd the king and Commons of their treasure.[1]

But as Tancock says, Marlowe was not a man of one book, and the outline of Edward's story might have been known to him from a very early age and from many sources. The one which certainly lies almost immediately behind his play is the chronicle of Holinshed.

To conclude, in *Edward II* Marlowe has wrestled with an unwieldy mass of historical material too varied and extensive to submit entirely to his treatment. The story is not completely coherent at all points. Nevertheless, its main substance has been drawn closely into tragic form. Professor W. D. Briggs, whose essay in introduction to the play excellently demonstrates the historical significance of Marlowe's artistry, warns us against supposing that he was as consciously concerned with the pursuit of dramatic unity as a modern dramatist might be, using the same material; but changes so obviously designed to form an intelligible pattern and a closely consecutive action must indicate considerable technical deliberation. If Marlowe had relied on a memory of Holinshed his imagination might unconsciously have rearranged the facts; but this was not the case. The notes to the text will show that sometimes he uses the actual words of the chronicle; and the latter's inconsistencies here and there come over directly into the play. Clearly Marlowe worked with Holinshed before him, and the examination of his rendering shows at once that he was no less superior to his contemporaries in technical efficiency than he was in poetic power.[2]

[1] Robert Nicol's additions to the *Mirror* in 1610 give *The wofull life and death of King Edward the second*. It appears to have been versified from Stow, and there is no clear sign that the writer knew Marlowe's play.

[2] It is perhaps unnecessary to follow the story in later poets. Daniel in his *Civil Wars* (first four books, 1595) gives it one stanza (I. 18) which has no bearing upon *Edward II*. Drayton turns it to highly romantic

VI

CRITICAL REVIEW

It has been the general custom to regard *Edward II* as the finest of Marlowe's works and to rank it very highly both as a landmark in the development of the history play and as an individual achievement. 'The drama of Marlowe's', says A. W. Ward, 'which seems to me to be entitled to the highest and least qualified tribute of praise is his historical tragedy of *Edward II*.'[1] In *Edward II*, says Havelock Ellis, 'Marlowe reached the summit of his art. . . . It was not till ten years later that Shakespeare came near to this severe reticence, these deep and solemn tragic tones.'[2] Schelling's appraisement suggests how much these eulogies may rest on extrinsic considerations. 'When we consider its early date and the exuberant and lyric quality of the genius of Marlowe, the play in its restraint becomes worthy of the highest possible praise.'[3] Something of this relative praise will, of course, have to be modified if *Edward II* was written after *2 and 3 Henry VI*, but leaving that out

purposes in *Peirs Gaveston* (1594, revised 1619 as *The Legend of Pierce Gaveston*), *Mortimeriados* (1596, revised 1619 as *The Barons Warres*) and *Queen Isabel to Mortimer* and *Mortimer to Queen Isabel* in *England's Heroicall Epistles* (1619). The first of these was reprinted in 1596 with other poems; the relevant part of its title-page runs, '*And the Legend of Piers Gaveston, the great Earl of Cornwall: and mighty favorite of king Edward the second.*' The wording of this from *Piers Gaveston* onward is identical with that in the title-page of the 1598 quarto of our play. Drayton might be expected to have known Marlowe's play. He represents the Queen as neglected for the sake of Gaveston; and makes her amour with Mortimer begin much earlier than in any historical account known to us. But he draws fully on Stow and even more fully on his own imagination; his romantic love story is as unlike the relation of Mortimer and the Queen in Marlowe as could well be imagined; while in the dedication of *Piers Gaveston* (1594) he has the following: 'PIERS GAVESTON, whose name hath been obscured so many yeeres, and over-past by the Tragædians of these latter times.' We cannot be quite certain therefore that he had *Edward II* in mind, or that he even knew it.

But cf. *Mortimeriados*, l. 385, 'Saint George the King, Saint George the Barrons cry', with *Edward II*, III. iii. 33–5.

[1] *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, 1875, i. 193.

[2] *Preface* to Mermaid ed., 1883.

[3] *English Chron. Play*, 1902, p. 67. Schelling's estimate as a whole, however, is not unlike our own.

of consideration, the approach to the play through the wooden patriotism of *The Famous Victories of Henry V*, the crude and vulgar *Life and Death of Jack Straw*, the somewhat more relieved flatness of *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, and the clumsy and libellous *Edward I* (if that is to be taken as prior in date), cannot but direct our admiration to the firm outline of Marlowe's play, its tragic unity, the force, clarity and at times great beauty of its style. Unconcerned alike with patriotic rhetoric or coarse buffoonery, he keeps his eye closely on his object and presents the downfall of his misguided king, if not with the wise humanity of Shakespeare, at least with energy and essential truth. The importance of such an achievement in 1591 can hardly be overemphasized. Nor will any one deny that in careful contrivance of plot, in the equilibrium of personalities in the dramatic conflict, and in general propriety of style, Marlowe has here excelled his earlier work ; nor that his management of historical sources shows a degree of technical skill unusual in all but the finest of Elizabethan dramas.

Yet some critics of repute have made more temperate estimates of the play than those quoted. Hazlitt, who thought its last scenes ' not surpassed by any writer whatever ', found the characters worthless, the lines often feeble and desultory, the whole inferior to *Richard II* in conduct, power, and effect. Dyce thought the play not quite free ' from that heaviness which prevails more or less in all chronicle histories anterior to those of Shakespeare '.[1] Miss Ellis-Fermor, who when writing of *Edward II* says that Marlowe converts all he touches to beauty, may be found a little later referring casually to the play's ' weary flatness '.[2] The truth is that when all the merits comparative and otherwise of *Edward II* have been seen and admired, we have to admit that the crowded events before the fall of the King are not always very interesting. In

[1] Marlowe's *Works*, 1859, p. xxiv. [2] *Marlowe*, pp. 117, 128.

Tamburlaine, even more in *Faustus* in spite of its corrupt text, we are carried away by sheer daring of invention and loveliness of imagination; while in *Edward II*, having dispensed with all those 'brave translunary things' which delighted Drayton, Marlowe subdues his characters to the reality of an historical situation. The result is a little dull in comparison. The characters of this play may be more credible, but they are less interesting; with the exception of the King in his suffering, they neither engage the reader's feelings very warmly nor greatly stir his imagination. We can believe in their quarrels without minding overmuch what becomes of them. In fact the impression made by the play corresponds well enough with Stubbs's description of the actual reign. 'The reign of Edward II possesses in its more prominent events an extraordinary amount of tragic interest; but outside of the dramatic crises it may be described as exceedingly dreary. There is a miserable level of political selfishness, which marks without exception every public man; there is an absence of sincere feeling except in the shape of hatred and revenge . . . and there is no great triumph of good or evil to add a moral or inspire a sympathy.' [1]

Edward II, in fact, owes something of its grim power to a certain naturalistic quality, more akin to the spirit of *Arden of Feversham* than to that of Shakespeare's plays, and strongly contrasted with that of *Thomas of Woodstock* which was modelled on it. The unknown author of *Woodstock* had a much less significant genius but a much more humane and moral mind, delighting to compare the weak and foolish Richard with the unhistorical good earl Thomas, honest, fearless, and unwavering. In *Edward II* there is no moral pattern. We are not asked to consider whether Edward deserved his fate; we are not led either to be sorry for the Queen or to be repelled by her infamous desertion. It is merely the essence of what happened. This may

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxv.

seem a far cry from *Tamburlaine*, *Faustus*, and *The Jew*, which are for the most part concerned with what can never have happened at all; yet it is no less the result of that complete detachment from ordinary human sympathies which is characteristic of Marlowe. What we have in *Edward II* is in fact the inhumanity of *Tamburlaine* or *The Jew* without the élan, the poetry, the *amour de l'impossible* which makes us forget temporarily their extreme exaggeration.

This likeness in unlikeness is to be found also in the conception of some of the characters. Mortimer, for example, develops towards the end of the play into something like a Macchiavellian villain:

> They thrust upon me the protectorship,
> And sue to me for that that I desire.

He accepts the office gravely, ' not unlike a bashful puritan '. He is filled with the sense of power beyond the assaults of fate—*maior sum quam cui possit fortuna nocere*—the dramatist thus rather clumsily preparing his fall:

> As for myself, I stand as Jove's huge tree,
> And others are as shrubs compared to me.

Such a figure, had it been presented with the wealth of poetry of which Marlowe was capable and had it been sustained throughout, would have been in the succession of Marlovian heroes, imaginatively whole and impressive and quite unreal. But we remember the rebellious Hotspur-like figure at the beginning of the play—

> Come, uncle, let us leave the brainsick king,
> And henceforth parley with our naked swords—

and his chivalrous attention to the neglected Queen; and we wonder whether this egregious villain can be the same man. Within the apparent time-limits of the play he obviously cannot be; but Marlowe has really represented the degeneration of twenty-three years; and allowing for

a little exaggeration at the end, we have to admit it as a melancholy possibility. Mortimer's final speech, perhaps the noblest in the play,

> Farewell, fair queen; weep not for Mortimer,
> That scorns the world, and, as a traveller,
> Goes to discover countries yet unknown,

was recollected by Shakespeare in *Hamlet* and expresses a philosophical self-possession which we had hardly suspected.

More successful is the presentation of Gaveston, who bears the mark of his creator both in his sensual and luxuriant imagination and in his devil-may-care insolence, his ironical [1] recklessness. This is what the *amour de l'impossible* comes to in real life; this indeed may be very much what Marlowe himself actually was. The poor men to whose appeal Gaveston is deaf are an ingenious invention; his attitude to them is an illustration of the total irresponsibility which Marlowe had found in the Gaveston of Holinshed and the elaboration of which was much to his taste. The favourite's devotion to the King, like that of the Spencers, unsupported by the chronicle, is perhaps Marlowe's only concession to human idealism in this play, and he has not underlined it very heavily. The critics have perhaps made too much of this matter. It cannot be denied that all the favourites grow to love their master; but their protestations are made when there is a good deal to gain or nothing more to lose. We need not question their sincerity; but other aspects of their minds make stronger impressions upon our memories. How Marlowe-like and energetic, for example, is the conversation between Baldock and Young Spencer when they first appear:

> You must be proud, bold, pleasant, resolute,
> And now and then stab, as occasion serves,

[1] His cool remark to the ferocious Warwick—

> Why, my lord of Warwick,
> Will not these delays beget my hopes?

which has puzzled some commentators, is surely the ironically contemptuous question of one who sees that there is little left to hope for.

says Spencer. Baldock replies that he is not really so mild as he looks—

> curate-like in mine attire,
> Though inwardly licentious enough,
> And apt for any kind of villainy.

Spencer's lamentations when the King is led away from Neath Abbey are only a flourish of rhetoric in comparison ; and what are we to make of Baldock's reproach to him on that occasion ?

> Make for a new life, man, throw up thy eyes,
> And heart and hand to heaven's immortal throne,
> Pay nature's debt with cheerful countenance.

This was obviously intended for what Rice ap Howell calls it, a ' preachment ' ; but it sounds like a diversion of ironic devilment to pious purposes. The mind behind it is the mind behind Spencer's first speech to Baldock, with which that mind is more in sympathy.

With such passages in mind, can any one doubt that even the earliest Shakespeare, in *2 and 3 Henry VI*, had already a better hold on character and a finer command of consistent and effective speech ? As plays, *2 and 3 Henry VI* are, of course, inferior to *Edward II* ; their structure is loose and episodic and the dialogue often has a figurative exuberance which is not strictly dramatic. But in many ways they are finer. They already have the fresh and vivid natural imagery that is so characteristic of Shakespeare and so rare in Marlowe—

> Now 'tis the spring and weeds are shallow-rooted ;
> Suffer them now and they'll outgrow the garden.

or

> Faster than spring-time showers comes thought on thought,
> And not a thought but thinks on dignity.

They have the sympathetic humanity which is even more characteristic of the greater poet, as in Gloucester's (the Protector's) speeches when he watches his sad wife's pro-

gress through the London street, or Suffolk's farewells to Queen Margaret. Above all they have that poetic truth and insight which takes the hearer at once to the heart of a character or a situation—

> Beaufort's red sparkling eyes blab his heart's malice,

or

> The red rose and the white are on his face,
> The fatal colours of our striving houses.

They are full of speeches which at once delight the æsthetic sense and produce the illusion of life; and that is why they are more interesting than *Edward II*; and if the latter combines the poetic and the dramatic more successfully than Marlowe's other plays, it is in all probability because he had learnt something from Shakespeare.

But all this is to consider Marlowe at a disadvantage. It has always been obvious that he was less apt in the interplay of character and in the consistent unfolding of situations than he was in the exposition of emotional states and aims. He was a master of the more violent states of feeling, in which there is no thought which is not also an emotion. Tamburlaine longs for the sweet fruition of an earthly crown; Barabas seeks to enclose infinite riches in a little room; and Faustus, with the devil's aid, would establish over all sources of pleasure a dominion that 'stretcheth as far as doth the mind of man'—but not even the speeches of Faustus have any marked intellectual quality. These heroes desire and suffer; they do not think. Marlowe studies passionate possession *in situ* as Browning studies intellectual self-consciousness. Both lose dramatic power through the preoccupation, though Browning very much more than Marlowe, since emotion is the raw material of drama and meditation is not. But an effectual inner movement is absent in both.

So *Edward II* is really made memorable by the King's abandoned infatuation and even more by the scenes of

his downfall and agony. Before these last scenes he has made a somewhat confused impression on the mind and has aroused little sympathy. His love for Gaveston has led him into a total dereliction of all royal responsibility, while he repeats over and over again his futile demand for royal respect. He insults the barons at one moment, and at the next scatters honours among them with childish recklessness. He is hasty, unreasoning, altogether exasperating. If that were all we might still pity him as we pity Henry VI, both mocked by the malign fate that gave them the intolerable burden of a crown; we could not but be affected by his generous love for Gaveston. When asked by the barons why he is so attached to his favourite, he replies quite simply:

> Because he loves me more than all the world.

But it is not all. He has less dignity and less sense than Henry VI. His treatment of the Queen is worse than neglectful; his behaviour to the barons is worse than foolish. This is no Aristotelian hero; his erring is palpable, his goodness far to seek. Nor does he ever become more admirable, but after his downfall, isolated in terrible suffering with no power to do more than storm and lament, he becomes an object of the most painful sympathy, of a pity which would be intolerable if any admiration for him had been aroused beforehand. Schelling has commented upon the care taken by Marlowe to alienate our sympathies from the King at first and to draw them to him afterwards. It can hardly be taken as a merit, since in a way it breaks the back of the play; besides, it is really the quite fortuitous consequence of Holinshed's having drawn, for his account of the King's end, on the chronicler who was most in sympathy with Edward and most consistently whitewashed his character.[1] The fact is that we sympathize with nobody

[1] The writer of the *Vita et Mors*. He calls the King *rex piissimus*, and dwells on his great love for the Queen, *quam non potuit non amare*, in spite of the way in which she behaved. And just as a chronicler on the other

at the beginning of the play; and it is a measure of the power of the final scenes that they can make us forget so entirely the deplorable folly we have been witnessing. Like a hunted animal surrounded by the hounds, with nowhere the faintest hope of assistance, the unfortunate King faints, laments, rages, acquiesces at last in his dethronement but not in his death, for which he is miserably unready. Remorselessly the chamber of his life is darkened. Gleam after gleam is blotted out; Mortimer and the Queen grow more and more hateful; the kindly Berkeley is replaced by Matrevis and Gurney; Kent is executed. The last light disappears, and through the abysmal darkness rings a sudden cry of panic-stricken agony. Unexpectedly the light of day returns and we shudder at the horror passed.

These final episodes, like the last scene of *Faustus*, called out Marlowe's finest powers. They begin with the deeply pathetic scene in the abbey where Edward has reached a precarious refuge. His mood is drowsy and hopeless, and he longs for death in some of the most memorable lines of the play, and not the less beautiful that they may be reminiscent of a similar passage in *3 Henry VI.*

> Good father, on thy lap
> Lay I this head, laden with mickle care.
> O might I never open these eyes again,
> Never again lift up this drooping head,
> O never more lift up this dying heart!

The gloomy mower (an invention of Marlowe's) arrives with Leicester, and Edward is led away resigned but querulous. At Kenilworth, when the crown is demanded of him, he is full of words, some of which are striking enough—

> But what are kings, when regiment is gone,
> But perfect shadows in a sunshine day?

side declares that Warwick was inspired by the dayspring from on high to murder Gaveston, so this writer compares Edward's agony with that of Christ. *Sic hunc mundus odio habuit, sicut suum magistrum, scilicet Christum odio habuit.*

but few of which he could possibly have said. They are rather ' strange despairing thoughts ' passing through his mind, and more in the nature of soliloquies than parts of a dialogue. But when Trussell interrupts with the rude demand :

> My lord, the parliament must have present news,
> And therefore say, will you resign or no ?

he rouses himself from his lethargic self-pity to a passionate outburst, and the later part of the scene is finer than the beginning. Marlowe's imagination has warmed to a task in which he has no equal, and every stroke now tells in the terrible story. We pass to the pitiful roadside scene, where vile indignity follows on grief of mind, and to the murder itself where brutality gives place to diabolical savagery. Is there anything in any drama more heart-rending than the spectacle of this outworn, overwatched, and now terrified king, apologizing to Lightborn and giving him his last jewel—

> But every joint aches as I give it thee,

and trembling in the extremity of fear :

> Something still buzzeth in mine ears,
> And tells me if I sleep I never wake.

The dialogue here is so realistic and so dreadful that the fact that the sufferer is Edward and a king is of no consequence ; our feelings would be no less lacerated if he were nameless and unknown.

These are the scenes which drew from Lamb his oft-quoted remark : ' The reluctant pangs of abdicating royalty in *Edward* furnished hints which Shakespeare scarce improved in his *Richard the Second* ; and the death scene of Marlowe's king moves pity and terror beyond any scene ancient or modern with which I am acquainted.' Into this matter of the comparative merits of *Edward II* and *Richard II* there is no need to go far now, but a few remarks

may perhaps be made. One is that Shakespeare could never have written such a murder scene at all. Its unquestionable power rests very largely on the effect of inhuman cruelty presented more or less for its own sake; it cannot be said that the plot makes the scene necessary.[1] If we except *Titus Andronicus* as being of doubtful authorship, only in *King Lear* is there anything comparable, but there it is the outward vesture of a despairing philosophy. It is noteworthy that *2 Henry VI* does not show the murder of the good Duke Humphrey; it is only in *The Contention* that we are offered the spectacle of 'two men lying on his brest and smothering him in his bed'. *Edward II* may very likely have inspired this gruesome addition to Shakespeare's text; in which case Marlowe is to be credited with that too. There is a murder scene in *Richard II*, but it is melodramatic in comparison; and it is characteristic of Shakespeare that it should be so. He could not forbear to add the quite improbable faithful groom who makes the spectacle more tolerable, and Richard dies fighting, not like Edward in helpless misery and fear. Secondly, there are considerable differences in the abdication scenes. Richard throughout the play has been a more passive figure than Edward; moreover, he has a vein of intellectual fancy which makes him very talkative. His character, more fully and more subtly seized, is at the same time one which it was more difficult to handle dramatically. The meanderings of his mind in the abdication scene are in fact more than a little tedious. And yet the juxtaposition of Richard and Bolingbroke makes a dramatic situation of great force, and of a kind beyond Marlowe's power. Bolingbroke's contemptuous

> Go some of you; fetch him a looking-glass

is a good example of Shakespeare's power of going to the

[1] 'A more fastidious critic than Lamb might perhaps justly object to such an exhibition of physical suffering as the scene affords' (Dyce, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiv).

heart of a relationship in a few simple words. But it is no doubt futile to make too close a comparison between Shakespeare's lyrical and loosely built drama with its wealth of discursive poetry and Marlowe's grimly realistic tragedy. No doubt the latter is the better play and leaves a sharper impression on the mind ; it has less grace, less poetry, less humanity, but more power and a better form ; and with that we must leave the comparison, without agreeing with Havelock Ellis that it is unfair to Shakespeare.[1]

To conclude, *Edward II* cannot well be accounted ' the summit ' of Marlowe's work without disregarding flatly the preference of posterity, which is obviously given to *Faustus*. Greatly inferior in structure and corrupted by vulgar interpolations as it is, that play has a wider human significance and contains the sublimest of Marlowe's writing ; if anything is to be called the summit of his work, we think that it cannot be other than *Faustus*. At the same time *Edward II* may still be regarded as Marlowe's finest technical achievement. He was 27 when it was written. Shakespeare, whose age was the same, had produced much less. Had a kinder fate awaited Marlowe, he might have gone on to deeper studies of human nature, in which the fine economy and restraint of *Edward II* might have combined with the imaginative fire of *Faustus*. But the blind Fury and Frizer's dagger intervened ; and Shakespeare was left without a rival.

[1] *Preface* to Mermaid ed.

EDWARD II

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

KING EDWARD THE SECOND.
PRINCE EDWARD, *his Son, afterwards King Edward the Third.*
EARL OF KENT, *Brother of King Edward the Second.*
GAVESTON.
WARWICK.
LANCASTER.
PEMBROKE.
ARUNDEL.
LEICESTER.
BERKELEY.[1]
MORTIMER *senior.*
MORTIMER *junior, his Nephew.*
SPENCER *senior.*[2]
SPENCER *junior, his Son.*
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.[3]
BISHOP OF COVENTRY.
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
BALDOCK.
BEAUMONT.
TRUSSEL.
GURNEY.
MATREVIS.[4]
LIGHTBORN.
SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT.
LEVUNE.
RICE AP HOWEL.
Abbot, Monks, Herald, Lords, Poor Men, James, Mower, Champion, Messengers, Soldiers, and Attendants.

QUEEN ISABELLA, *Wife of King Edward the Second.*
NIECE TO KING EDWARD THE SECOND, *daughter of the Duke of Gloucester.*
Ladies.

Dramatis Personæ. The list is omitted from the early editions, and is supplied by Dyce.

[1] Usually spelt *Bartley* in the early edd. [2] Usually spelt *Spenser* in the early edd. [3] In early edd. called *Bishop.* [4] Greg points out that from ii. v. 98 the speech-prefixes and the directions frequently confuse Arundel and Matrevis; he accepts Dyce's inference that this arose from a doubling of the parts by the same actor. For the bearing of this on the question of the printer's copy, see the Introduction.

KING EDWARD THE SECOND, born April 1284, son of Edward I and Eleanor of Castile; became King in July 1307, deposed January 1327, murdered at Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire, September 1327.

PRINCE EDWARD, born November 1312, son of Edward II and Isabella, succeeded to the crown on his father's deposition; died in 1377.

EARL OF KENT, really Edward II's half-brother, being the son of Edward I by his second wife Margaret of France. As he was born in 1301, his appearance amongst the rest of the barons in the early scenes of the play is the dramatist's accommodation of historical facts. He was put to death at Mortimer's instigation in 1330.

GAVESTON, son of a Gascon knight who had served Edward I faithfully; brought up as foster-brother and playmate of Edward II, but banished in February 1307 by Edward I 'least the prince, who delighted much in his companie, might by his evill and wanton counsell fall to evill and naughtie rule' (Holinshed). Edward II's first act as King was to recall Gaveston, to whom he gave £50,000 he had seized from Langton, and an additional £100,000 from the late King's treasure. Gaveston was made Earl of Cornwall in August 1307 and in the same year married Margaret de Clare, daughter of the eighth Earl of Gloucester and niece of the King. He was banished in May 1308, returned in July 1309, was again banished in 1311, but recalled in January 1312. The Barons captured him at Scarborough in May 1312, and he was beheaded without trial in June 1312 on Blacklow Hill near Warwick.

WARWICK, Guy, Earl of Warwick, the most persistent opponent of Gaveston and of Edward. The King pardoned him in 1313 for his share in Gaveston's death, and he died in 1315.

LANCASTER, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, son of Edmund the second son of Henry III by Blanche of Artois; a consistent and most powerful opponent of Edward II and of Gaveston. He opposed the Spencers, but was captured by the King's forces at Boroughbridge in March 1322, and after trial by his peers, was beheaded in his own castle of Pontefract.

PEMBROKE, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, grandson of King John's widow, Isabella, and her second husband, the Count de la Marche. He was first on the side of the Barons against Edward and Gaveston, but after quarrelling with Warwick and Lancaster, he joined the King's party or at least tried to find agreement between the two sides. In the play there is no hint of his change of front. He died in 1324 as the King's envoy in France.

ARUNDEL, Edmund Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, first an opponent of Edward II, but afterwards for the King against Lancaster and Mortimer, who had him executed in November 1326.

LEICESTER, Henry, Earl of Leicester, younger brother of Thomas Earl of Lancaster, to whose rights he succeeded in 1324, but on account of his opposition to the Spencers and the King in the first place, and then, later, to Mortimer, he was unable to assume the earldom of Lancaster until the succession of Edward III in 1327.

BERKELEY. Sir Thomas Berkeley was dispossessed of his inheritance by Spencer the Younger on account of Berkeley's and his father's support of Lancaster. The Queen captured Berkeley Castle and restored it to Sir Thomas.

MORTIMER SENIOR, Roger Mortimer of Chirk, Justiciar of Wales (but never Earl Mortimer); second son of the Roger Mortimer who had fought for Henry III at Lewes and Evesham. An opponent of Edward II, he rebelled in 1321, but surrendered in 1322. Sentence of death was commuted to imprisonment for life, and he died in the Tower.

MORTIMER JUNIOR, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, nephew of Roger Mortimer of Chirk, grandson of Henry III's Roger Mortimer. After his uncle's surrender in 1322, he also was imprisoned in the Tower but escaped, and joined the Queen in France to help her against the Spencers. On the success of her invasion, he was made Earl of March (1327), and was the most powerful force in England until 1330.

SPENCER SENIOR, Hugh le Despenser, son of the Justiciar of England in 1260, also Hugh le Despenser, who had sided with the Barons against Henry III and fallen at Evesham. A strong supporter of Edward II against Lancaster, he was banished in 1321, but quickly recalled by the King. As Edward's favourite, he brought on himself the odium which led to his execution at Bristol in October 1326.

SPENCER JUNIOR, Hugh le Despenser, son of the above and sharer in his power from 1322 to 1326. He married Eleanor, eldest sister of Gaveston's wife, and daughter of the eighth Earl of Gloucester by his wife Joan, daughter of Edward I. When his wife's brother, the ninth Earl, died, their father's estate was divided between the three sisters, and Spencer appears for a time to have been both nominal and actual Earl of Gloucester. He was executed at Hereford in November 1326.

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop from 1294 to 1313. Already in Edward I's reign, he had opposed the Crown in the interests of the Church and the people. Edward I accused him to the Pope, and a temporary suspension of his office followed. But he returned soon after Edward II's succession, and again consistently took sides against the Crown until his death in 1313.

BISHOP OF COVENTRY, Walter Langton, bishop of the combined sees of Lichfield, Chester and Coventry. Treasurer under Edward I, he was suspended on a petition of Parliament, but acquitted by the Pope. When Edward II succeeded, Langton was imprisoned, but in 1311 he was restored to favour and to the Treasurership. The Archbishop excommunicated him for accepting office and he was removed from it in 1315.

BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, John Stratford, bishop of Winchester, from 1323 : he joined the Queen against the Spencers, not primarily as a partisan, but as a believer in the Constitution. Later he held high offices—Treasurer 1326, Chancellor 1330–1334, 1335–1337, and for a few months in 1340. He was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1333 to 1348.

BALDOCK, Robert of Baldock, Keeper of the King's Privy Seal, shared the prosperity and the unpopularity of the Spencers. He joined the King in flight, and was captured in November 1326. He died in 1327.

BEAUMONT, Henry de Beaumont, son of Lewis de Brienne, Viscount of Beaumont in Maine, and grandson of John, King of Jerusalem and Emperor of Constantinople. Up to 1315 he was regarded as a partisan of the King's, but, changing sides, he was arrested in 1323 by the King's orders. He supported the Queen against the Spencers.

TRUSSEL, Sir William Trussel, as proctor of the parliament of Westminster in 1327, renounced, in the name of the parliament, the homage which its members had sworn to Edward.

GURNEY, Thomas Gournay, one of Edward II's murderers, fled the country, was taken at Marseilles, and died suspiciously on his way back, murdered probably to avoid disclosures about his distinguished accomplices in the murder.

MATREVIS, Sir John Maltravers or Mauntreveres, took over the custody of the King when Mortimer thought that his previous custodian, Sir Thomas Berkeley, was too gentle a gaoler.

LIGHTBORN. An unhistorical character invented by Marlowe. See p. 49.

Sir John of Hainault, uncle of Philippa, who married Edward III.

Levune. Invented by the dramatist.

Rice ap Howel. The King had him imprisoned in 1322 for his share in the Barons' opposition. The Queen had him released and employed him to go amongst his acquaintance in Wales to counteract the King's influence and if possible to apprehend him.

Queen Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France, married Edward II at Boulogne, January 25, 1308, in her sixteenth year (though some authorities say in her thirteenth). The late Professor Tout's notice of her in the D.N.B. succinctly states the facts of her domestic and political life, tracing her estrangement from Edward and her intrigue with Mortimer.

Niece to Edward II. Margaret, daughter of the eighth Earl of Gloucester, and wife to Gaveston. See above under Gaveston and Spencer Junior.

ACT I

SCENE I

A Street in London

Enter GAVESTON, *reading on a letter that was brought him from the King.*

Gav. ' My father is deceas'd. Come, Gaveston,
And share the kingdom with thy dearest friend.'
Ah, words that make me surfeit with delight!
What greater bliss can hap to Gaveston
Than live and be the favourite of a king?
Sweet prince, I come; these, these thy amorous lines
Might have enforc'd me to have swum from France,
And, like Leander, gasp'd upon the sand,

Act I. Scene i.

added Rob. *A Street*, etc.] add. Dyce. S. D. *reading on*] *reading of* Tr. 1. *deceas'd*] early edd. *deceast*. Except in special cases, differences of this sort will not be noted again. 5. *Than*] early edd. have regularly *then*, a common Elizabethan usage for *than*. The change will not again be noted in this collation. 6. *these, these*] *these* Tr.

[The edition of Marlowe cited in these notes is the present one.]

Act I. Scene i.

S. D.] Division into acts and scenes not made in the early editions, but added by Rob. in 1826 ed. Dyce in his footnotes repeats these divisions which he omits from the text, and also adds locations of the scenes. Greg simply divides the play into 24 scenes. This first scene (see l. 10) must be ' A street in London '.

3. *surfeit with delight*] Adaptations of this figure appear several times in Marlowe: cf. *Tamburlaine*, ' to surfeit in conceiving joy ' (II. 1. vi. 25); *Massacre at Paris*, xviii. 22–23, xxi. 15–16; *Faustus*, Prol. 24–25, I. i. 79, V. ii. 37.

7. *from France*] Gaveston had been banished by Edward I (see note under *Dram. Pers.*) and had gone to his Gascon home.

8. *Leander*] The famous love-story of Hero and Leander was retold by Marlowe; in his poem, as Briggs notes, Leander does not ' gasp upon the sand '; on the contrary, nearing the land, and feeling the sand with his weary feet,

' Breathlesse albeit he were, he rested not ' (ii. 229).

So thou wouldst smile, and take me in thy arms.
The sight of London to my exil'd eyes
Is as Elysium to a new-come soul;
Not that I love the city, or the men,
But that it harbours him I hold so dear,
The king, upon whose bosom let me die,
And with the world be still at enmity.
What need the arctic people love starlight,
To whom the sun shines both by day and night?
Farewell base stooping to the lordly peers.
My knee shall bow to none but to the king.
As for the multitude that are but sparks,
Rak'd up in embers of their poverty—
Tanti; I'll fawn first on the wind
That glanceth at my lips, and flieth away.
But how now, what are these?

Enter three Poor Men.

Men. Such as desire your worship's service.

9. *thy*] *thine* Tr., Q–Ver. 10. *my*] *mine* Coll. 14. *die*] So all early edd. Some modern editors follow A.B.D.'s *lie*, but Coll., Kelt., Fleay, Bull., Brooke and Briggs retain *die*. 19. *knee*] *knees* Q3. 20. *As*] *Its* Tr. 21. *Rak'd*] *bak't* Tr. 22. *Tanti*] *tantum* Tr. *fawn*] Ox., Rob., etc.; *fanne* O, Qq., etc. 25. *your*] *your your* Q.

14. *die*] swoon with joy, a metaphor common in Elizabethan English; *N.E.D.* cites examples of this hyperbole from Lyly, Nashe, Shakespeare (*Much Ado*, III. ii. 69, *Tempest*, III. i. 79), etc. The modern emendation *lie* is both flat and unnecessary.

18. *base*] Briggs aptly cites an illustration of a similar mingling of the two senses of 'low' and 'ignoble', from *Richard II*, III. iii. 180: 'In the base court? Base court where kings grow base.'

20–21. *sparks . . . embers*] This metaphor, from the practice of keeping fires alight overnight by raking ashes over them to smother more rapid combustion, a convenient practice in the days of tinderboxes, is parallel to the one in More's *Ed. V, Ded. Ep.*: 'To revive that which hath for a long time been raked up in the embers of oblivion.'

22. *Tanti*] So much for that.

fawn] All early edd. have *fanne*, which is either a misprint for 'faune', 'fawne', or is an obsolete form of the word, a similar form 'fan' being given (without illustration) by the *N.E.D.* as dialectal and obsolete. It is odd that in the beautifully written (? 1593) transcript, this word is a little peculiar, though not sufficiently so to cause Greg to remark on it. But the first *n* (if *n* it be) has a clear stroke across the bottom joining the minims, and no other *n* in the transcript has it: that, however, does not make it any more like the transcriber's *w* or *u*.

Gav. What canst thou do?
1st Man. I can ride.
Gav. But I have no horses. What art thou?
2nd Man. A traveller.
Gav. Let me see—thou wouldst do well
To wait at my trencher and tell me lies at dinner-time;
And as I like your discoursing, I'll have you.
And what art thou?
3rd Man. A soldier, that hath serv'd against the Scot.
Gav. Why, there are hospitals for such as you;
I have no war, and therefore, sir, be gone.
3rd Man. Farewell, and perish by a soldier's hand,
That wouldst reward them with an hospital.
Gav. Ay, ay, these words of his move me as much
As if a goose should play the porpintine,
And dart her plumes, thinking to pierce my breast.
But yet it is no pain to speak men fair;
I'll flatter these and make them live in hope. [*Aside.*
You know that I came lately out of France,
And yet I have not view'd my lord the king;

28. *horses*] *horse* Q–Ver.; Tr. and O have *horses*. 31. *time*] Tr. omits. 40. *should*] Rob., Cunn., Bull., Ell., Pink., Ver. have *would*; *porpintine*] *porcupine* Q to Ver. 41. *dart*] *eate* Tr. 43. *these*] *them* Tr. S. D. *Aside*] add. Dyce.

34. *soldier*] Edward II notoriously mismanaged his father's military resources. One of his first acts was to give Gaveston vast sums from the treasure Edward I had accumulated for a Holy War. Later Gaveston himself was accused of neglecting the soldiers in the Scottish war.

35. *hospitals*] These commonly admitted maimed or destitute soldiers, as well as the aged poor and needy. They were more a part of a poor law system than a medical service. But like the 'spittle' to which Pistol would condemn Nym (*Henry V*, II. i. 78), they frequently housed very unsavoury characters.

40. *porpintine*] one of the many forms in which 'porcupine' was spelt. The myth about its capacity to 'dart' its quills goes back to Pliny, who reports (Holland's trans., VIII. xxxv), 'a kind of urchin or hedgehog they be; armed with pricks they be both, but the porcupine hath the longer sharp-pointed quills, and those, when he stretcheth his skin, he sendeth and shooteth from him'. Ascham (*Toxophilus*, ed. Arber, p. 31) refers to Claudian (*Idyllium* II, Hystrix, 40 ff.), who 'sayth that nature gave example of shotyng first by the Porpentine, which doth shote his prickes, and will kille any thinge that fightes with it.'

If I speed well, I'll entertain you all.
All. We thank your worship.
Gav. I have some business, leave me to myself.
All. We will wait here about the court. [*Exeunt.*
Gav. Do; these are not men for me: 50
I must have wanton poets, pleasant wits,
Musicians, that with touching of a string
May draw the pliant king which way I please.
Music and poetry is his delight;
Therefore I'll have Italian masks by night,
Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shows;
And in the day, when he shall walk abroad,
Like sylvan nymphs my pages shall be clad;
My men, like satyrs grazing on the lawns,

49. *We*] *I* Tr. 54. *is*] *are* Tr. Dod.–Rob. 58. *sylvan*] *Silvian* O, Qq., but Tr. has *Syluan*. 59. *grazing*] *gasing* Tr.

51. *wanton*] probably in the somewhat milder sense of 'amorous'. The word, originally meaning merely 'undisciplined', 'ungoverned', very early (e.g. Langland) acquired the sense of 'unchaste', 'lascivious', but before 1590 it seems to have had that sense only in reference to women, though Shakespeare (*1 Henry VI*, III. i. 19) applies it, with 'lascivious', to a man. Holinshed's version of Gaveston's aesthetic preferences is not as exalted as Marlowe's. Gaveston, he says, furnished the King's court 'with companies of Jesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, musitions, and other vile and naughty ribaulds' (p. 847).

55. *Italian masks*] From the time of Hall, who on 7 March 1519 recorded a revel 'called a maskalyn after the gyse and maner of the contrey of Ettaly', the Tudor Englishman regularly thought of their masque as a thing owing much to Italy. Although Brotanek and Reyher, recent historians of the masque, have been disposed to minimize this debt, Miss Welsford's *Court Masque* (1927) convincingly argues for a large Italian influence. However obscure its ultimate origin, first with sword-dances then with mummeries, it can no longer be doubted that the Italian morisco, the intermezzo, the masquerade, and the thing Hoby called a 'maskerye' were largely responsible for the shape taken by the Elizabethan masque. Gaveston is, of course, here describing tastes of Marlowe's, not of Edward II's time.

59. *grazing*] treading the lawn as if tending cattle feeding thereon. The *N.E.D.* has no sense exactly like this, though 'causing cattle to graze', or 'to tend while cattle are so feeding' is given with illustrations from Golding 1564 and Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, I. iii. 72. But probably Marlowe is thinking of satyrs more for their bestial than for their divine attributes; and in this case, 'grazing' is a natural action of a beast. The curse on Babylon (*Isaiah* xiii. 21, Geneva version) included in its general desolation: 'Ostriches shall dwel there, and the Satyres shal daunce there'.

Shall with their goat-feet dance an antic hay.
Sometime a lovely boy in Dian's shape,
With hair that gilds the water as it glides,
Crownets of pearl about his naked arms,
And in his sportful hands an olive-tree,
To hide those parts which men delight to see,
Shall bathe him in a spring; and there, hard by,
One like Actæon peeping through the grove,
Shall by the angry goddess be transform'd,
And running in the likeness of an hart
By yelping hounds pull'd down, and seem to die;—
Such things as these best please his majesty.
My lord! Here comes the king, and the nobles
From the parliament. I'll stand aside. [*Retires.*

60. *goat-feet*] *Goates feete*, Tr., *Goate feete* O, Qq.; *an*] *the* Qq.–Ver. 61. *Sometime*] *Sometimes* Dod.–Rob., Cunn., Pink. 65. *which*] *as* Tr. 66. *there, hard by*] *there by*,—Tr. 70. *and seem*] *shall seem* Dod. to Ver. except Fleay, Bull. 72. *My lord . . . comes*] O, Qq. have comma after *lord*; Dod. Ox. omit *My lord*; Reed, Coll., A.B.D. have *My lord here comes; the*; Rob., Cunn., Wag., Pink., *By'r lord! here comes*; Dyce, Fleay, Bull., etc., *Here comes my lord the*; Fleay and others make three lines out of 72–73. 73. S. D. *Retires*] add. Dyce.

60. *hay*] a country dance having a winding movement, or being of the nature of a reel, apparently old-fashioned ('antic', 'antique') in Shakespeare's day, but allied to the hay-de-guy which was then very popular.

61. *boy in Dian's shape*] There were, of course, no actresses in the Elizabethan theatre.

63. *Crownets*] 'coronets', with the special meaning here of 'bracelets'.

64. *olive-tree*] There is no need to make 'tree' mean 'branch': not all olive-trees in England grow so unwieldy that a boy could not brandish them with ease.

67. *Actæon*] The story of Actæon's punishment for having come upon Diana bathing in a spring is best known in Ovid's version (*Metamorph.*, iii. 155 ff.).

72. *My lord! here comes*] See collations above for the different emendations of this line and its punctuation. The reading of the first edition seems to us to need no alteration. Gaveston suddenly sees the King, and ejaculates to himself 'my Lord!', then continues—'here [they] come, the king and the nobles' etc. Briggs prefers Tucker Brooke's emendation, which removes the full stop at the end of the preceding line, substituting a comma, and placing the full stop after 'lord':

. . . his majesty,
My lord. Here comes, etc.

comes] The Elizabethans, like Marlowe, frequently have this apparently singular form of the verb with a plural subject. Perhaps the form is a survival through dialect of the older *-s* and *-th* plural; or perhaps it is a singular permissible under certain conditions e.g. when the subject is 'mixed' or when the verb precedes the

Enter the KING, LANCASTER, MORTIMER *senior*, MORTIMER *junior*, EDMUND, *Earl of Kent*, GUY, *Earl of Warwick*, *etc.*

K. Edw. Lancaster!

Lan. My lord.

Gav. That Earl of Lancaster do I abhor. [*Aside.*

K. Edw. Will you not grant me this? In spite of them
I'll have my will; and these two Mortimers,
That cross me thus, shall know I am displeas'd. [*Aside.*

Mor. sen. If you love us, my lord, hate Gaveston.

Gav. That villain Mortimer! I'll be his death. [*Aside.*

Mor. jun. Mine uncle here, this earl, and I myself,
Were sworn to your father at his death,
That he should ne'er return into the realm:
And know, my lord, ere I will break my oath,
This sword of mine, that should offend your foes,
Shall sleep within the scabbard at thy need,
And underneath thy banners march who will,
For Mortimer will hang his armour up.

Gav. Mort Dieu! [*Aside.*

K. Edw. Well, Mortimer, I'll make thee rue these words.
Beseems it thee to contradict thy king?
Frownst thou thereat, aspiring Lancaster?
The sword shall plane the furrows of thy brows,

76. S. D. *Aside*] add. Dyce, as also at 79, 81, 90, 98. 83. *to*] *unto* Dod.–Rob., Cunn., Pink.

subject. Sometimes the usage is grammatically though not logically correct.

S. D. *Enter . . . Edmund Earl of Kent*] This is an anachronism: see note *sub. nom.* in *Dramatis Personæ*.

76. *I abhor*] Lancaster, though the King's cousin, was the Queen's uncle, and bitterly resented Edward's favour for Gaveston at her expense.

78. *these two Mortimers*] Historically the Mortimers had nothing to do with the opposition to Gaveston.

82–3. *Mine uncle . . . Were sworn*] Marlowe invents this oath out of two records in Holinshed. 'This earl', Thomas of Lancaster, had married the daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, who on his death-bed had bound Lancaster to oppose the return of Gaveston to the realm. Holinshed then adds that some report that Edward I on his death-bed laid a similar charge on the earls of Lincoln, Warwick and Pembroke. But in neither case were the Mortimers concerned.

And hew these knees that now are grown so stiff.
I will have Gaveston; and you shall know
What danger 'tis to stand against your king.

Gav. Well done, Ned! [*Aside.*

Lan. My lord, why do you thus incense your peers,
That naturally would love and honour you
But for that base and obscure Gaveston?
Four earldoms have I, besides Lancaster,
Derby, Salisbury, Lincoln, Leicester,
These will I sell, to give my soldiers pay,
Ere Gaveston shall stay within the realm;
Therefore, if he be come, expel him straight.

Kent. Barons and earls, your pride hath made me mute;
But now I'll speak, and to the proof, I hope.
I do remember, in my father's days,
Lord Percy of the north, being highly mov'd,
Brav'd Mowbery in presence of the king;
For which, had not his highness lov'd him well,

107. ff. *Barons etc.*] This speech is given to the King by Dod.–Rob., Cunn., Bull., Pink. *me*] Q misspells *men*.

102. *Four earldoms . . . besides Lancaster*] This was only true after 1311, in which year Lancaster inherited the earldoms of his deceased father-in-law Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln and Salisbury. But at the date of the opening of the play, he was already possessed of three which he inherited from his father, Lancaster, Leicester and Derby, his father having received the two latter from the confiscated estates of the de Montfort and Ferrers families. Holinshed, recording his death (p. 868) says: 'And so this mighty Earle of Lancaster came to his end, being the greatest Pere in the Realm, and one of the mightiest Erles in Christendome: for when he began to levie warre against the K. he was possessed of five Earledomes, Lancaster, Lincolne, Salisburie, Leicester, and Derby.' Drayton (*Mortimeriados*, 561 ff.) says of him:

'O subject for some tragick Muse to sing,
Of five great Earledomes at one time possest,
Sonne, Unckle, Brother, Grandchild to a King.'

108. *to the proof*] irrefutably. The *N.E.D.* cites a common sense of 'proof', 'proved or tested power', and under that heading gives the phrase 'to the proof', citing a line from Fletcher in which it means 'to the utmost'. Editors commonly gloss it in the present passage, 'to the point', or 'effectively': but the sense appears to be a little stronger.

109. *I do remember*] This appears to refer to a fictitious incident.

111. *Brav'd*] challenged, treated with bravado; cf. Greene, *Orlando Furioso*, 231: 'Ile beard and brave thee in thy proper towne.'

He should have lost his head ; but with his look
The undaunted spirit of Percy was appeas'd,
And Mowbery and he were reconcil'd :
Yet dare you brave the king unto his face.
Brother, revenge it, and let these their heads
Preach upon poles, for trespass of their tongues.

War. O, our heads !

K. Edw. Ay, yours ; and therefore I would wish you grant—

War. Bridle thy anger, gentle Mortimer.

Mor. jun. I cannot, nor I will not ; I must speak.
Cousin, our hands I hope shall fence our heads.
And strike off his that makes you threaten us.
Come, uncle, let us leave the brain-sick king,
And henceforth parley with our naked swords.

Mor. sen. Wiltshire hath men enough to save our heads.

War. All Warwickshire will love him for my sake.

Lan. And northward Gaveston hath many friends.
Adieu, my lord ; and either change your mind,
Or look to see the throne, where you should sit,
To float in blood ; and at thy wanton head,
The glozing head of thy base minion thrown.

126. *parley*] *parle* O, *parlie* Q. Pink. 128. *love*] *leave* Dyce, Cunn., Wag., 129. *Gaveston*] *Lancaster* Ox., Rob., Dyce, Cunn., Wag., Kelt., Pink. 133. S. D. *Exeunt* etc.] add. mod. edd. ; *Exeunt Nobiles* OQ, *Nobles* Q2.

118. *Preach*] The emendation to 'Perch' made by an early editor destroys the antithetical point clearly intended by 'tongues'.

122. *nor I will not*] Double negatives as a mode of strengthening the negative are very common in Elizabethan English.

123. *Cousin*] Commonly used of collateral relatives more distant than brother or sister, and very frequently of nephew and niece : it comprehended almost all these more distant relationships. Mortimer was only very distantly related to the King, his own mother being a kinswoman of the King's mother.

127. *Wiltshire*] It is difficult to see why this county is named by Mortimer senior. He was 'of Chirk', which is in Denbigh, and his nephew 'of Wigmore' which is in Hereford.

128. *love*] Dyce's emendation 'leave' destroys the irony of Warwick's speech ; as the emendation 'Lancaster' for 'Gaveston' in the next line destroys that in Lancaster's.

132. *wanton*] ungovernable, flighty ; see note l. 51 above.

133. *glozing*] given to smooth and specious flattery ; cf. *Pericles*, I. i. 110 :

'he has found the meaning
But I will gloze with him.'

[*Exeunt all but* KING EDWARD, KENT, GAVESTON *and Attendants.*

K. Edw. I cannot brook these haughty menaces;
Am I a king, and must be overrul'd?
Brother, display my ensigns in the field;
I'll bandy with the barons and the earls,
And either die, or live with Gaveston.

Gav. I can no longer keep me from my lord.

[*Comes forward.*

K. Edw. What, Gaveston! welcome!—Kiss not my hand,
Embrace me, Gaveston, as I do thee.
Why shouldst thou kneel? knowest thou not who I am?
Thy friend, thyself, another Gaveston!
Not Hylas was more mourn'd of Hercules,
Than thou hast been of me since thy exile.

Gav. And since I went from hence, no soul in hell
Hath felt more torment than poor Gaveston.

K. Edw. I know it. Brother, welcome home my friend.
Now let the treacherous Mortimers conspire,
And that high-minded Earl of Lancaster:
I have my wish, in that I joy thy sight;
And sooner shall the sea o'erwhelm my land,
Than bear the ship that shall transport thee hence.
I here create thee Lord High Chamberlain,

139. S. D. *Comes forward*] add. Dyce. 144. *of*] *for* Q, Dod., Reed, A.B.D.; *for of* Qq. 2, 3, Dyce, Kelt., McL.; the O reading *of* is kept by Rob., Cunn., Bull., Wag., etc.

137. *bandy*] to give and take blows, a metaphor from tennis; cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. i. 92:

'the prince expressly hath
Forbidden bandying in Verona streets.'

144. *Hylas*] Hercules, having slain the father of Hylas, took the youth with him on the expedition of the Argonauts for the Golden Fleece. On the way, they put in to the coast of Mysia and Hylas went ashore for water. At the well, the Naiads, overcome by his beauty, drew him down into the water, and he was never seen again. Hercules made frantic search for him, but heard no more than a faint echo.

145. *exile*] accented 'exíle'.

150. *high-minded*] arrogant, as in *1 Henry VI*, I. v. 12.

151. *I have my wish*] This line occurs in exactly the same form in *Arden of Feversham*, v. i. 349 (ed. *Shakespeare Apocrypha*, Tucker Brooke).

154. *Lord High Chamberlain*] Holinshed records that 'having revoked again into England his old

Chief Secretary to the state and me,
Earl of Cornwall, King and Lord of Man.
Gav. My lord, these titles far exceed my worth.
Kent. Brother, the least of these may well suffice
For one of greater birth than Gaveston.
K. Edw. Cease, brother: for I cannot brook these words.
Thy worth, sweet friend, is far above my gifts,
Therefore, to equal it, receive my heart;
If for these dignities thou be envied,
I'll give thee more; for, but to honour thee,
Is Edward pleased with kingly regiment.
Fearst thou thy person? thou shalt have a guard:
Wantest thou gold? go to my treasury:
Wouldst thou be lov'd and fear'd? receive my seal;
Save or condemn, and in our name command
Whatso thy mind affects, or fancy likes.
Gav. It shall suffice me to enjoy your love,
Which whiles I have, I think myself as great
As Caesar riding in the Roman street,
With captive kings at his triumphant car.

167. *Wantest*] *Wants* OQq. etc.; *Want'st* Dod. and most to Rob.; *Wantest* Ox. Dyce to Ver.; T. Brooke, Briggs, Greg. follow OQq.

mate the said Peers de Gaveston, he received him into most high favoure, creating hym Earle of Cornewall and Lord of Man, his principall secretarie, and Lord Chamberlaine of the Realme' (p. 847).

156. *King and Lord of Man*] 'King' is, of course, not strictly correct, though the lords of Man had certain sovereign rights. Holinshed (*vide supra*) has simply 'lord of Man'. Tancock quotes from the *Chronicon Angliae*, anno 1344, a description of William of Montacute as 'rex Manniae'.

162. *to equal it, receive*] Briggs cites *Soliman and Perseda*, I. ii. 38–40:

'Let in my hart to keepe thine company.
Erast. And, sweet Perseda, accept this ring
To equall it: receive my hart to boote.'

163. *envied*] accented 'envíed'.

165. *regiment*] rule, government; cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. vi. 95; '[Antony] . . . gives his potent regiment to a trull'; and *1 Tamburlaine*, I. i. 117.

166. *Fearst*] fearest for; a common Elizabethan usage, as in *Much Ado*, III. i. 31: 'Fear you not my part of the dialogue.'

173–4. *Caesar . . . triumphant car*] Briggs quotes Peele, *Edward I*, i. 91:

'Not Caesar, leading through the streets of Rome
The captive kings of conquered nations,
Was in his princely triumphs honoured more.'

Enter the BISHOP *of* COVENTRY.

K. Edw. Whither goes my lord of Coventry so fast?
Cov. To celebrate your father's exequies.
But is that wicked Gaveston return'd?
K. Edw. Ay, priest, and lives to be reveng'd on thee,
That wert the only cause of his exile.
Gav. 'Tis true; and but for reverence of these robes,
Thou shouldst not plod one foot beyond this place.
Cov. I did no more than I was bound to do;
And, Gaveston, unless thou be reclaim'd,
As then I did incense the parliament,
So will I now and thou shalt back to France.
Gav. Saving your reverence, you must pardon me.
[*Laying hands on the Bishop.*
K. Edw. Throw off his golden mitre, rend his stole,
And in the channel christen him anew.
Kent. Ah, brother, lay not violent hands on him!
For he'll complain unto the see of Rome.
Gav. Let him complain unto the see of hell;
I'll be reveng'd on him for my exile.

186. S. D.] add. mod. edd.

176. *To celebrate* etc.] 'When the Lord Treasorer Walter de Langton Bishop of Coventrie and Lichfielde (thorough whose complaint, Peers de Gaveston had bin banished the land) was going towards Westminster, to make preparations for the same buriall [i.e. of Edward I], he was upon commandement from the newe King arrested, committed to prison, and after, delivered to the handes of the sayde Peers, beeing then returned agayne into the Realme, who sente hym from Castell to Castell as a prisoner. Hys landes and tenementes were seysed to the Kyng's use, but his movables were given to the foresayde Peers' (Holinshed, p. 847).

186. *Saving your reverence*] The mockery of Gaveston's remark is clearer when it is remembered that 'saving your reverence' was a traditional apologetic phrase used to introduce a remark that might offend the hearer: cf. Shakespeare, *Much Ado*, III. iv. 33, *Romeo and Juliet*, I. iv. 42, etc. It was often corrupted to 'sir-reverence'.

188. *channel*] street-gutter; so also in Shakespeare, who sometimes uses a variant form 'kennel'. In Elizabethan times, these street-gutters were merely open drains carrying the garbage of the houses on the street. The channel-water is used to add to Edward's torments in his last imprisonment: see v. iii. below.

192. *exile*] accented exíle as in l. 145 above.

K. Edw. No, spare his life, but seize upon his goods:
Be thou lord bishop and receive his rents,
And make him serve thee as thy chaplain:
I give him thee—here, use him as thou wilt.
Gav. He shall to prison, and there die in bolts.
K. Edw. Ay, to the Tower, the Fleet, or where thou wilt.
Cov. For this offence, be thou accurst of God!
K. Edw. Who's there? Convey this priest to the Tower.
Cov. True, true.
K. Edw. But in the meantime, Gaveston, away,
And take possession of his house and goods.
Come, follow me, and thou shalt have my guard
To see it done, and bring thee safe again.
Gav. What should a priest do with so fair a house?
A prison may beseem his holiness. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II

Near the King's Palace

Enter on one side both the MORTIMERS; *on the other,* WARWICK *and* LANCASTER.

War. 'Tis true, the bishop is in the Tower,

201. *True, true*] *Do, do* Dod., Reed, A.B.D., Coll., Rob. 207. *may*] So O and Q; but Qq. 2, 3 *may best* mainly followed from Reed to Ver. S. D. *Exeunt*] add. Dyce.

Scene ii.

Add. Rob. *Near the King's Palace*] add. Tan. S. D. *on one side, on the other*] add. mod. edd.; *Enter both the Mortimers, Warwicke, and Lancaster* O, Qq.

198. *the Fleet*] In Marlowe's day this was gradually becoming the debtors' prison; but in earlier times it was used for all kinds of prisoners. The Bishop was in fact committed to the regular political prison, the Tower.

201. *True, true*] This reading of all the early editions must be retained. Its sarcasm is well brought out by Briggs's note (based on Tancock): '"Convey" [l. 200] has here a double sense . . . recognized by the Bishop . . . "To convey" was good Elizabethan slang for "to steal". '"Convey", the wise it call,' says Pistol, '"Steal!" foh! a fico for the phrase' (*Merry Wives*, I. iii. 32).

Scene ii.

S. D. *Near the King's Palace*] Tancock puts *London, near*, etc.; others have *Westminster*, but pre-

And goods and body given to Gaveston.
Lan. What! will they tyrannise upon the church?
Ah, wicked king! accursed Gaveston!
This ground, which is corrupted with their steps,
Shall be their timeless sepulchre, or mine.
Mor. jun. Well, let that peevish Frenchman guard him sure;
Unless his breast be sword-proof he shall die.
Mor. sen. How now! why droops the Earl of Lancaster?
Mor. jun. Wherefore is Guy of Warwick discontent?
Lan. That villain Gaveston is made an earl.
Mor. sen. An earl!
War. Ay, and besides Lord Chamberlain of the realm,
And Secretary too, and Lord of Man.
Mor. sen. We may not, nor we will not suffer this.
Mor. jun. Why post we not from hence to levy men?
Lan. 'My Lord of Cornwall,' now at every word!
And happy is the man whom he vouchsafes,

cision in this case is neither possible nor important. Dyce thinks *Windsor*, taking the Queen's remark 'unto the forest' (l. 47) literally. But in or about London fits the scene best; see l. 78.

2. *goods and body . . . to Gaveston*] See quotation from Holinshed to sc. i., l. 176 above.

6. *timeless*] untimely, premature, the regular sense in Marlowe and Shakespeare; cf. *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, III. i. 21, 'your timeless grave'; and *2 Tamburlaine*, v. iii. 252.

7. *peevish*] senseless, silly; cf. *1 Henry VI*, v. iii. 186: 'To send such peevish tokens to a king.'

18. *happy is the man*] The following are Holinshed's accounts of Gaveston's arrogant conduct: 'The malice whiche the Lordes had conceyved agaynst the Earle of Cornewal still encreased, the more in deede through the high bearing of him, being now advanced to honour. For being a goodly gentleman and a stoute, he woulde not once yeelde an ynche to any of them, which worthily procured him great envie amongst the chiefest Peeres of all the realme' (p. 849). After Gaveston's return from temporary banishment to Ireland whither the King had been obliged to consent to send him, 'he shewed himselfe no chaungeling (as writers do affirme) but through support of the kings favour, bare himselfe so high in his doings, which were without all good order, that he seemed to disdaine all the Peeres and Barons of the realme. Also after the olde sort he provoked the king to all naughtie rule and riotous demeanor' (p. 850). 'The Lords perceyving the mischief that dayly followed and encreased by that naughtie man (as they tooke it) the Erle of Cornwal, assembled at Lyncolne, and there tooke counsaile togyther, and concluded eftsoones to banish him out of the Realme, and so thereupon shortly after, about Christmasse (as some write) or rather as other have, within the quindene of Saint Michaell, he was exyled into Flaunders sore agaynste the

For vailing of his bonnet, one good look.
Thus, arm in arm, the king and he doth march:
Nay more, the guard upon his lordship waits;
And all the court begins to flatter him.
War. Thus leaning on the shoulder of the king,
He nods, and scorns, and smiles at those that pass.
Mor. sen. Doth no man take exceptions at the slave?
Lan. All stomach him, but none dare speak a word.
Mor. jun. Ah, that bewrays their baseness, Lancaster!
Were all the earls and barons of my mind,
We'll hale him from the bosom of the king,
And at the court-gate hang the peasant up,
Who, swoln with venom of ambitious pride,
Will be the ruin of the realm and us.

Enter the BISHOP *of* CANTERBURY *and an* Attendant.

29. *We'll*] *We'd* Rob. to Ver. except Kelt.

Kings' wyll and pleasure, who made suche account of him, that (as appeared) hee coulde not bee quiet in mynde withoute hys companye, and therefore about Candlemasse hee eftsoones revoked hym home. But hee beeyng nothing at al amended of those hys evill manners, rather demeaned himself worse than before he had done, namely towardes the Lordes, agaynst whome using reprochfull speech, hee called the Earle of Gloucester bastarde, the Earle of Lyncolne lately deceassed bursten belly, the Earl of Warwike the blacke hounde of Ardern, and the Earle of Lancaster churle' (p. 850–1).

19. *vailing*] lowering, taking off as an act of courtesy or homage: cf. *Jew of Malta*, II. ii. 11.

21. *the guard*] Holinshed does not specifically name this particular favour; but he relates that Edward 'fearing the envie of the Lordes agaynst Pierce de Gaveston, placed him for his more safetie in Bambourgh Castell', telling his prelates and lords that he had committed him to prison for their pleasure.

25. *take exceptions at*] express objections against; see II. i. 47 below.

26. *stomach*] are angry at. Used in exactly the same sense in *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. iv. 12. The noun was commoner than the verb, and had a variety of applied senses from 'anger' to 'bad-temper', 'pride', 'courage', the last being perhaps the most common in Elizabethan English.

27. *bewrays*] betrays, exposes: the older English form ousted by the hybrid 'betray'.

29. *We'll*] There is no need to change to the more familiar 'we'd', as in Elizabethan English the indicative could follow a conditional clause in which the condition was not a fact. Briggs illustrates from *Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, I. 61–4:

'If I were younge who now am waxen oulde . . .
Ile be a scholler, though I live but poore.'

War. Here comes my lord of Canterbury's grace.
Lan. His countenance bewrays he is displeas'd.
Cant. First were his sacred garments rent and torn,
Then laid they violent hands upon him; next
Himself imprison'd, and his goods asseiz'd:
This certify the Pope; away, take horse.
[*Exit* Attendant.
Lan. My lord, will you take arms against the king?
Cant. What need I? God himself is up in arms,
When violence is offer'd to the church.
Mor. jun. Then will you join with us, that be his peers,
To banish or behead that Gaveston?
Cant. What else, my lords? for it concerns me near;
The bishopric of Coventry is his.

Enter the QUEEN.

Mor. jun. Madam, whither walks your majesty so fast?
Q. Isab. Unto the forest, gentle Mortimer,
To live in grief and baleful discontent;
For now my lord the king regards me not,
But doats upon the love of Gaveston.
He claps his cheeks, and hangs about his neck,

32. S. D. *Enter . . .*] early edd. have *the Bishop of Canterburie*; most modern edd. follow Reed's *the Archbishop. and an Attendant*] add. mod. edd. 38. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 49. *now my lord the king*] *now, my lord, the king* most mod. edd.

34. *bewrays*] see note l. 27 above.
37. *asseiz'd*] more properly 'seized', in the legal sense, 'taken possession of'.
42. *his peers*] i.e. the King's peers.
S. D. *the Queen*] It has been pointed out (notes to *dramatis personæ*) that Marlowe makes the beginnings of the Queen's liaison with Mortimer much earlier than is suggested by any of the authorities.
47. *Unto the forest*] i.e. out into the wilds. The *N.E.D.* cites 'forest' for 'wilderness' in a passage as early as 1320; and from Elizabethan English 1578, Lyte, *Dodoens*, II. xxix. 182: 'Therefore we have named them Camomill of the Forest, or wildernesse.'
51. *claps*] pats. This is neither a common nor a very obvious sense of the word: the *N.E.D.* puts this sense in a general group of senses signifying 'to slap with the palm of the hand in token of approval, etc.', especially 'to clap a person on the back'. But it adds that it expresses a gentler action in northern dialects, 'to pat in token of endearment, to pat fondly'.

Smiles in his face, and whispers in his ears;
And when I come, he frowns, as who should say,
Go whither thou wilt, seeing I have Gaveston.

Mor. sen. Is it not strange, that he is thus bewitch'd?

Mor. jun. Madam, return unto the court again:
That sly inveigling Frenchman we'll exile,
Or lose our lives; and yet, ere that day come,
The king shall lose his crown, for we have power,
And courage too, to be reveng'd at full.

Cant. But yet lift not your swords against the king.

Lan. No; but we'll lift Gaveston from hence.

War. And war must be the means, or he'll stay still.

Q. Isab. Then let him stay; for rather than my lord
Shall be oppress'd by civil mutinies,
I will endure a melancholy life,
And let him frolic with his minion.

Cant. My lords, to ease all this, but hear me speak:
We and the rest that are his counsellors,
Will meet, and with a general consent,
Confirm his banishment with our hands and seals.

Lan. What we confirm the king will frustrate.

Mor. jun. Then may we lawfully revolt from him.

War. But say, my lord, where shall this meeting be?

61. *But yet*, etc.] Ell., Ver. assign this to the Queen. 62. *we'll*] *we will* Dyce, accepted by all edd. to Ver. O, Qq. have *weele*. 65. *by*] This is O text: almost all edd. from Q to Ver. read *with*.

One of the quotations illustrates a wider extension of the northern usage: 1580 Baret, *Alv.* K78, 'To kisse one, or clap her on the lips, as we say merrily'.

74. *where shall this meeting be*] Holinshed's account of this attempt to exile Gaveston makes the nobles the instigators, and the Archbishop an eager accomplice *ex post facto*. 'Sir Henrie Lacie Earle of Lyncolne, sir Guy Earle of Warwike, and sir Aymer de Valence Earle of Pembroke, the Earles of Gloucester, Hereforde, Arundell, and others, which upon such wrath and displeasure as they had conceyved against him [Gaveston], thought it not convenient to suffer the same any longer, in hope that the kings minde might happely bee altered into a better purpose, being not altogither converted into a venemous disposition, but so that it might be cured, if the corrupter thereof were once banished from him. . . . Hereupon they assemble togither in the Parliament time, at the new Temple, on Saterday next before the feast of Saint Dunstan, and there ordeyned that the sayde Pierce shoulde abiure the realme

Cant. At the New Temple.
Mor. jun. Content.
[*Cant.*] And, in the meantime, I'll entreat you all
To cross to Lambeth, and there stay with me.
Lan. Come then, let's away.
Mor. jun. Madam, farewell.
Q. Isab. Farewell, sweet Mortimer; and for my sake,
Forbear to levy arms against the king.
Mor. jun. Ay, if words will serve; if not, I must.
[*Exeunt.*

77. *And, in,* etc.] In O Qq. the speech is Mortimer's, following on from *Content.* Modern edd. except Brooke and Greg accept allocation of this speech to Cant. Briggs says that a copy of Q2 has this allocation written in in ink. 83. S. D.] add. mod. edd.

and depart the same on the morrow after the Nativitie of Saint John Baptist at the furthest, and not to returne into the same againe at any tyme then after to come. To this ordinance, the King (although against his will) bycause he sawe himselfe and Realme in daunger, gave his consent, and made his letters Patents to the sayde Earles and Lordes, to witnesse the same. The tenour of which letters here ensueth [the letter in Latin follows]. These letters were read, heard, and allowed in the presence of all the Noble men of this lande, the day and yeare abovesayd. The Archbishop of Canterburie being lately returned from Rome, where he had remayned in exile in the late deceassed Kings dayes for a certaine time, did pronounce the sayd Pierce accursed, if he taried within the Realme longer than the appoynted tyme, and likewise all those that shoulde ayde, helpe or mainteyne him, and lykewise if he shoulde at any time hereafter returne againe into the lande. To conclude, this matter was so followed, that at length he was constrayned to withdrawe himselfe to Bristow, and so by sea as a banished man to saile into Ireland' (p. 849).

75. *the New Temple*] Called the 'new' to distinguish it from the 'old' Temple in Holborn. The Knights Templars obtained a settlement in Holborn in 1118; this old Temple stood on a site now occupied by Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, and extending to Holborn. In 1184, they removed to the site south of Fleet Street and the 'new' Temple included what were later separately known as the Outer, Middle and Inner Temple. When the Templars were suppressed in 1313, Edward II gave their property to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and when he was executed in 1322, to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and from him to Hugh Spencer the younger. In 1324 Parliament handed it to the Knights of St. John, but they did not secure possession until 1338.

78. *Lambeth*] Here was the Archbishop's Manor, held by Archbishops since 1197. The mention of it here indicates that this scene is in London or Westminster.

83. *if words will serve*] Briggs appositely cites *2 Henry VI*, v. 1. 139:

Edw. Ay, noble father, if our words will serve.
Rich. And if words will not, then our weapons shall.

SCENE III

A Street in London

Enter GAVESTON *and the* EARL *of* KENT.

Gav. Edmund, the mighty prince of Lancaster,
That hath more earldoms than an ass can bear,
And both the Mortimers, two goodly men,
With Guy of Warwick, that redoubted knight,
Are gone towards Lambeth. There let them remain.
[*Exeunt.*

Scene iii.

add. Rob. *A Street,* etc.] sugg. Dyce. 5. *Lambeth*] *London* Cunn. *There let,* etc.] Ell., Ver. give to Kent.

Scene iii.

S. D.] Dyce suggests the allocation 'A street'; the place is London.

The brevity of this scene has caused considerable comment. It is variously set down to Marlowe's imperfect technique or to corruption in the transmission of the text. But is it not a piece of audaciously Marlowesque technique, and one, moreover, in which his admitted flair for dramatic characterization exhibits itself, not, as usual, through wide and extended sweeps, but in concentrated miniature? Gaveston's superb insouciance and his arrogant self-assurance are revealed in the gay contemptuousness of all the epithets he here applies to the nobles. The action of the play is dramatically sharpened by the insertion of the lines at this point. The nobles have just adjourned to draw up the demand for Gaveston's exile. Whilst they are arranging its terms, the favourite flashes by in these characteristic six lines—and directly afterwards the nobles return with their instrument for his removal.

2. *more* [*earldoms*] see note to I. i. 102 above.

4. *redoubted*] feared, dreaded (spoken sarcastically, of course, as is the 'goodly' in l. 3). 'Redoubted' was a favourite epithet for royalty in the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries; Shakespeare uses it for the nobility.

5. *towards Lambeth*] The archbishop had invited the lords (see sc. ii. l. 78) to meet him at Lambeth. There is no need to alter this, as does Cunningham, to London: Gaveston could have heard of this ominous gathering at Lambeth; how little he pretends to care about it is hinted in his concluding half-line, which some modern editors, simply to give Kent a few syllables to speak, transfer to Kent without any authority.

SCENE IV

The New Temple

Enter LANCASTER, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, MORTIMER *senior*, MORTIMER *junior*, *the* BISHOP *of* CANTERBURY *and* Attendants.

Lan. Here is the form of Gaveston's exile :
May it please your lordship to subscribe your name.
Cant. Give me the paper.
[*He subscribes, as do the others after him.*
Lan. Quick, quick, my lord ; I long to write my name.
War. But I long more to see him banish'd hence.
Mor. jun. The name of Mortimer shall fright the king,
Unless he be declin'd from that base peasant.

Enter the KING, GAVESTON, *and* KENT.

K. Edw. What ? are you mov'd that Gaveston sits here ?
It is our pleasure ; we will have it so.
Lan. Your grace doth well to place him by your side,
For nowhere else the new earl is so safe.
Mor. sen. What man of noble birth can brook this sight ?
Quam male conveniunt !
See what a scornful look the peasant casts.
Pem. Can kingly lions fawn on creeping ants ?
War. Ignoble vassal, that like Phaeton

Scene iv.

add. Rob. S. D.] Add. mod. edd. ; *Enter Nobiles* O, Q., *Nobles* Q2. 3. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 7. S. D. *Enter* etc.] Dyce adds *and Kent* to O, Qq. *Enter the King and Gaveston.*

Scene iv.

S. D.] Dyce allocates this to the New Temple, where it certainly begins and where the whole of it, with one or two incongruities noted by Briggs, may be supposed to take place.

7. *declin'd*] turned aside ; as in *Hamlet*, I. v. 50. See also l. 115 below.

8. *sits here*] i.e. close to the royal seat.

13. *Quam male conveniunt*] Slightly altered from Ovid, *Metamorph.*, ii. 846 : ' Non bene conveniunt, nec in una sede morantur, Maiestas et amor.'

16. *Phaeton*] Phaeton's story is well known, perhaps best known in Ovid's version (*Metamorph.*, i. 755 ff.). He was son of Helios by

Aspir'st unto the guidance of the sun.
Mor. jun. Their downfall is at hand, their forces down :
We will not thus be faced and over-peer'd.
K. Edw. Lay hands on that traitor Mortimer !
Mor. sen. Lay hands on that traitor Gaveston !
Kent. Is this the duty that you owe your king ?
War. We know our duties, let him know his peers.
K. Edw. Whither will you bear him ? Stay, or ye shall die.
Mor. sen. We are no traitors ; therefore threaten not.
Gav. No, threaten not, my lord, but pay them home !
Were I a king——
Mor. jun. Thou villain, wherefore talks thou of a king,
That hardly art a gentleman by birth ?
K. Edw. Were he a peasant, being my minion,
I'll make the proudest of you stoop to him.
Lan. My lord, you may not thus disparage us.
Away, I say, with hateful Gaveston !
Mor. sen. And with the earl of Kent that favours him.
[Attendants *remove* KENT *and* GAVESTON.
K. Edw. Nay, then lay violent hands upon your king,
Here, Mortimer, sit thou in Edward's throne :

20. *on*] *upon* Wag., perhaps after Coll.'s emendations in B.M. copy of Dyce[1]. 21. *on*] *upon* Wag. 24. *Whither*] *Whether*, all early edd.—and so frequently. 28. *talks*] all edd., except Fleay, to Ver. accept Dod.'s *talk'st*. 29. *That*] *Thou* Tan. 34. S. D. *Attendants . . .*] add. Dyce.

the Oceanid Clymene. His arrogance drove him to beg his father's leave to drive the chariot of the sun. Unable to control the horses, he found the chariot approaching earth, when he was slain by a flash of lightning sent by Zeus, and fell into the Eridanus (river Po).

19. *faced*] braved, bullied ; cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 125.

over-peer'd] looked down on ; Briggs suggests that a pun is meant—'peer', the verb (to look), and the noun (peer of the realm).

28. *villain*] punning on both senses, the modern one and the original, both of which were frequent in Elizabethan English. Originally a villain was feudally a serf ; so, servant, bondsman, 'villein'.

30. *minion*] favourite ; but without the derogatory sense. Originally the word had no derogatory implication, but it was gradually acquiring these associations in Elizabethan English.

32. *disparage*] treat slightingly, degrade, vilify ; originally meant to degrade by marrying to one of inferior rank.

Warwick and Lancaster, wear you my crown :
Was ever king thus over-rul'd as I ?

Lan. Learn then to rule us better, and the realm.

Mor. jun. What we have done, our heart-blood shall maintain.

War. Think you that we can brook this upstart pride ?

K. Edw. Anger and wrathful fury stops my speech.

Cant. Why are you mov'd ? be patient, my lord,
And see what we your counsellors have done.

Mor. jun. My lords, now let us all be resolute,
And either have our wills, or lose our lives.

K. Edw. Meet you for this, proud overdaring peers ?
Ere my sweet Gaveston shall part from me,
This Isle shall fleet upon the Ocean,
And wander to the unfrequented Inde.

Cant. You know that I am legate to the Pope ;
On your allegiance to the see of Rome,
Subscribe as we have done to his exile.

Mor. jun. Curse him, if he refuse ; and then may we
Depose him and elect another king.

K. Edw. Ay, there it goes : but yet I will not yield :
Curse me, depose me, do the worst you can.

47. *overdaring*] Bull.'s emend. *overbearing* accepted by Ell., Ver.

41. *upstart*] (adjective), characteristic of upstarts ; cf. Jonson, *Sejanus*, v. viii. :

> ' It is a note
> Of upstart greatnesse to . . . watch
> For these poor trifles.'

49. *fleet*] float ; cf. *1 Tamburlaine*, III. iii. 156, and *Dido*, IV. iv. 134.

50. *Inde*] Down to Milton's time, this was (and especially in poetry) the commoner form of India. It is Spenser's (*Ynd*) and Shakespeare's occasionally (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 69). In the miracle plays (York, xlvi. 287) it is *Ynde*, in moralities (*Elements*, p. 25), *Ynde*, and *Hickscorner* has *Inde*, and in the anon. *Nero*, *Ind.* Holland's *Pliny*, i. 103, describes the Rats of Inde. In Elizabethan usage, the word referred either to continental India, to the East Indies, or more rarely to the West Indies. The form Inde or Ynde (with a long vowel) came through the French ; from Latin ' India ' an early form was Indie, giving the plural *Indies*.

51. *legate*] Tancock points out that the Archbishop was not technically the Pope's legate.

54. *Curse*] in the technical sense, ' excommunicate ' ; the sense is as old as the eleventh century. See the extract from Holinshed above (ii. 74) : ' The Archbishop of Canterburie . . . did pronounce the sayd Pierce accursed, if etc.' (p. 849).

Lan. Then linger not, my lord, but do it straight.
Cant. Remember how the bishop was abus'd :
Either banish him that was the cause thereof,
Or I will presently discharge these lords
Of duty and allegiance due to thee.
K. Edw. It boots me not to threat ; I must speak fair :
The legate of the Pope will be obey'd. [*Aside.*
My lord, you shall be Chancellor of the realm ;
Thou, Lancaster, High Admiral of our fleet ;
Young Mortimer and his uncle shall be earls ;
And you, Lord Warwick, President of the North ;
And thou of Wales. If this content you not,
Make several kingdoms of this monarchy,
And share it equally amongst you all,
So I may have some nook or corner left,
To frolic with my dearest Gaveston.
Cant. Nothing shall alter us : we are resolv'd.
Lan. Come, come, subscribe.
Mor. jun. Why should you love him whom the world hates so ?
K. Edw. Because he loves me more than all the world.
Ah, none but rude and savage-minded men
Would seek the ruin of my Gaveston ;
You that be noble-born should pity him.
War. You that are princely-born should shake him off :
For shame subscribe, and let the lown depart.
Mor. sen. Urge him, my lord.
Cant. Are you content to banish him the realm ?
K. Edw. I see I must, and therefore am content :

61. *lords*] Q misprints *lord*. 64. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 65. *you*] *ye* Qq. 2, 3. 80. *be*] so O, Q ; but Qq. 2, 3, *are*.

63. *boots*] avails.
65. *Chancellor*] These appointments (ll. 65–69) were not in fact proposed or made.
78. *rude*] barbarous, a common sense of a word which ranged widely in meaning from 'unlearned' to 'brutal'.
82. *lown*] peasant, low-born fellow ; Shakespeare uses it (as 'loon') as a term of abuse = 'stupid person' (*Macbeth*, v. iii. 11), but also in the above sense (*Pericles*, iv. vi. 19).

Instead of ink I'll write it with my tears.
[*Subscribes.*

Mor. jun. The king is love-sick for his minion.
K. Edw. 'Tis done, and now, accursed hand, fall off!
Lan. Give it me; I'll have it publish'd in the streets.
Mor. jun. I'll see him presently dispatch'd away.
Cant. Now is my heart at ease.
War. And so is mine.
Pem. This will be good news to the common sort.
Mor. sen. Be it or no, he shall not linger here.
[*Exeunt all except* KING EDWARD.

K. Edw. How fast they run to banish him I love.
They would not stir, were it to do me good.
Why should a king be subject to a priest?
Proud Rome, that hatchest such imperial grooms,
For these thy superstitious taper-lights,
Wherewith thy antichristian churches blaze,
I'll fire thy crazed buildings, and enforce
The papal towers to kiss the lowly ground.
With slaughter'd priests may Tiber's channel swell,
And banks rais'd higher with their sepulchres.

86. S. D. *Subscribes*] add. Dyce. 93. S. D.] add. mod. edd.; *Exeunt Nobiles* O, Q, *Nobles* Q2. 98. *For*] Dod. changed O, Qq. *For* to *With*, which was general to Kelt. 101. *The*] *Thy* Dod. to Rob. 102. *may*] so O, Qq. Dod. changed to *make*, Reed reverted to *may*, but from Rob. to T. Brooke, all except Kelt. have *make*. 103. *rais'd*] O, Qq. have *raisd*; Dod.'s *raise* followed by Reed, Ox., Coll., Rob.; the A.B.D. emends *rise*, and is followed by Cunn., Fleay, Pink.

96–103. *Why should* etc.] Despite Edward's evil ways, this is a speech which would gain for him the hearty sympathy of an Elizabethan audience. The form of its anti-papalism is quite Elizabethan, and is out of place in Edward's time; but chronicle plays frequently embodied similar sentiments. Marlowe has a passage at the end of *The Massacre at Paris*, xxi. 57 ff., very much like the lines here, and showing a very close parallel indeed in two of the lines (*Massacre*, 64–5):

'I'll fire his crazed buildings, and enforce
The papal towers to kiss the lowly earth';

cf. ll. 100–1 above).

97. *grooms*] servants, a regular Elizabethan sense.

100. *crazed*] broken, ruined. Marlowe uses this word in *Massacre at Paris* (see preceding note), and in the *Jew of Malta*, I. i. 79, he applies it to a ship. It is, of course, possible to take 'crazed' merely in a proleptic sense.

As for the peers, that back the clergy thus,
If I be king, not one of them shall live.

Re-enter GAVESTON.

Gav. My lord, I hear it whispered everywhere,
That I am banish'd, and must fly the land.
K. Edw. 'Tis true, sweet Gaveston—O! were it false!
The legate of the Pope will have it so,
And thou must hence, or I shall be depos'd.
But I will reign to be reveng'd of them;
And therefore, sweet friend, take it patiently.
Live where thou wilt, I'll send thee gold enough;
And long thou shalt not stay, or if thou dost,
I'll come to thee; my love shall ne'er decline.
Gav. Is all my hope turn'd to this hell of grief?
K. Edw. Rend not my heart with thy too-piercing words:
Thou from this land, I from myself am banish'd.
Gav. To go from hence grieves not poor Gaveston;
But to forsake you, in whose gracious looks
The blessedness of Gaveston remains:
For nowhere else seeks he felicity.
K. Edw. And only this torments my wretched soul,
That, whether I will or no, thou must depart.
Be governor of Ireland in my stead,
And there abide till fortune call thee home.
Here take my picture, and let me wear thine;
[*They exchange pictures.*
O, might I keep thee here as I do this,

105. S. D. *Re-enter*] so mod. edd.; *Enter* O, Qq. 127. S. D. *They exchange . . .*] add. Dyce.

113. *I'll send thee gold*] Holinshed reports (after Gaveston's exile to Ireland) 'The King being sore offended herewith, as he that favored the Erle [Gaveston] more than that he could be without his companie, threatned the Lords to be revenged for this displeasure, and ceassed not to sende into Irelande unto Pierce, comforting him both with friendly messages, and rich presentes' (p. 849).

125. *Be governor*] Holinshed, 'as it were to shewe that hee [Edward] ment to reteyne him still in his favour, he made him ruler of Irelande as his deputie there' (p. 849).

Happy were I: but now most miserable.
Gav. 'Tis something to be pitied of a king.
K. Edw. Thou shalt not hence; I'll hide thee, Gaveston.
Gav. I shall be found, and then 'twill grieve me more.
K. Edw. Kind words and mutual talk makes our grief greater:
Therefore, with dumb embracement, let us part—
Stay, Gaveston, I cannot leave thee thus.
Gav. For every look, my lord, drops down a tear:
Seeing I must go, do not renew my sorrow.
K. Edw. The time is little that thou hast to stay,
And therefore give me leave to look my fill:
But come, sweet friend, I'll bear thee on thy way.
Gav. The peers will frown.
K. Edw. I pass not for their anger. Come, let's go.
O that we might as well return as go.

Enter the QUEEN

Q. Isab. Whither goes my lord?
K. Edw. Fawn not on me, French strumpet; get thee gone.
Q. Isab. On whom but on my husband should I fawn?
Gav. On Mortimer, with whom, ungentle queen—
I say no more, judge you the rest, my lord.
Q. Isab. In saying this, thou wrongst me, Gaveston;

136. *my lord, drops*] O, Qq. have no comma; but Ox.'s insertion of it is accepted by Dyce[1], Fleay, Tan., Ver. Dod. followed Qq. punctuation, and read *love* for *lord*, being followed by Reed, Collier, Robinson, Dyce[2], Cunn., Wag. and Ell. amongst others. 140. *bear*] Q2 misprints *beate*. 143. S. D. *Enter* . . .] Dyce's alteration of O, Qq. *Enter Edmund and Queen Isabell.*

142. *pass*] care; cf. *1 Tamburlaine*, I. i. 109: 'I pass not for his threats'.

S. D. *Enter the Queen*] The early edd., bringing in Edmund, are clearly wrong; there is nothing in the scene for him to say or to do.

147. *On Mortimer*] As has been pointed out, Marlowe very considerably antedates the liaison between Mortimer and the Queen. The only remote mention of it in Holinshed before the King's deposition is a paragraph, 'for what he [Mortimer] willed the same was done, and without him the Queene in all these matters [i.e. of state] did nothing' (p. 881).

Is't not enough that thou corrupts my lord,
And art a bawd to his affections,
But thou must call mine honour thus in question?

Gav. I mean not so; your grace must pardon me.

K. Edw. Thou art too familiar with that Mortimer,
And by thy means is Gaveston exil'd;
But I would wish thee reconcile the lords,
Or thou shalt ne'er be reconcil'd to me.

Q. Isab. Your highness knows it lies not in my power.

K. Edw. Away then; touch me not. Come, Gaveston.

Q. Isab. Villain! 'tis thou that robb'st me of my lord.

Gav. Madam, 'tis you that rob me of my lord.

K. Edw. Speak not unto her; let her droop and pine.

Q. Isab. Wherein, my lord, have I deserv'd these words?
Witness the tears that Isabella sheds,
Witness this heart, that, sighing for thee, breaks,
How dear my lord is to poor Isabel.

K. Edw. And witness heaven how dear thou art to me.
There weep: for till my Gaveston be repeal'd,
Assure thyself thou com'st not in my sight.

[*Exeunt* EDWARD *and* GAVESTON.

Q. Isab. O miserable and distressed queen!
Would, when I left sweet France and was embark'd,
That charming Circes, walking on the waves,

150. *corrupts*] so O, Qq.; Dod.'s *corrupt'st* is generally accepted by edd.
172. *Circes*] Most edd. follow Dod.'s *Circe*.

151. *affections*] fancies.

172. *charming*] exercising charms or spells.

Circes] A regular Elizabethan (and earlier) nominative singular form, probably (according to Flügel) due to the fact that Chaucer and Gower adopted 'Circes' just as it stood in Old French, and probably adopted in Old French by a loose translation of some Latin line in which Circes was the Latin form. Marlowe has *Circes* (singular nominative) in *Dido*, IV. iv. 11; Henry Iden entitled his translation (1557) of Gelli's 'La Circe', *Circes*. The passage Marlowe has in mind in this speech of Isabella's is Ovid, *Metamorph.*, xiv. 48 ff.:

'ingreditur ferventes aestibus undas,
In quibus ut solida ponit vestigia terra,
Summaque decurrit pedibus super aequora siccis'.

It describes Circe walking on the waves as she was setting out to cast a spell on Scylla.

Had chang'd my shape, or at the marriage-day
The cup of Hymen had been full of poison,
Or with those arms that twin'd about my neck
I had been stifled, and not lived to see
The king my lord thus to abandon me.
Like frantic Juno will I fill the earth
With ghastly murmur of my sighs and cries;
For never doted Jove on Ganymede
So much as he on cursed Gaveston:
But that will more exasperate his wrath;
I must entreat him, I must speak him fair;
And be a means to call home Gaveston:
And yet he'll ever dote on Gaveston;
And so am I for ever miserable.

Re-enter LANCASTER, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, MORTIMER *senior, and* MORTIMER *junior.*

Lan. Look where the sister of the king of France
Sits wringing of her hands, and beats her breast!
War. The king, I fear, hath ill intreated her.
Pem. Hard is the heart that injures such a saint.
Mor. jun. I know 'tis 'long of Gaveston she weeps.
Mor. sen. Why? he is gone.
Mor. jun. Madam, how fares your grace?
Q. Isab. Ah, Mortimer! now breaks the king's hate forth,
And he confesseth that he loves me not.
Mor. jun. Cry quittance, madam, then; and love not him.

173. *at*] Qq. 2, 3, Ox., Rob., Cunn., Wag., Pink. have *that.* 180. *Ganymede*] *Ganimed* O, Qq. 186. *Re-enter*, etc.] add. mod. edd.; *Enter the Nobles to the Queene* O, Qq. 190. *injures*] So O. Q has *injuries*, followed by Fleay, Bull., Ell., Ver.

180. *Ganymede*] For Jove's love for Ganymede, see Ovid, *Metamorph.*, x. 155–61. On account of his beauty, he had been carried off by the gods to act as their cup-bearer. But he is later as frequently mentioned merely as the favourite of Zeus, quite apart from any naming of his office. The story of Ganymede provides Marlowe with the first scene of *Dido*.

189. *intreated*] treated. Though 'to ask earnestly' is the common Elizabethan sense of 'intreat', it is frequently used by Shakespeare in the same sense as Marlowe's in this line.

Q. Isab. No, rather will I die a thousand deaths:
And yet I love in vain; he'll ne'er love me.
Lan. Fear ye not, madam; now his minion's gone,
His wanton humour will be quickly left.
Q. Isab. O never, Lancaster! I am enjoin'd
To sue unto you all for his repeal;
This wills my lord, and this must I perform,
Or else be banish'd from his highness' presence.
Lan. For his repeal, madam! he comes not back,
Unless the sea cast up his shipwrack'd body.
War. And to behold so sweet a sight as that,
There's none here but would run his horse to death.
Mor. jun. But, madam, would you have us call him home?
Q. Isab. Ay, Mortimer, for till he be restor'd,
The angry king hath banish'd me the court;
And therefore, as thou lovest and tendrest me,
Be thou my advocate unto these peers.
Mor. jun. What, would ye have me plead for Gaveston?
Mor. sen. Plead for him he that will, I am resolv'd.
Lan. And so am I, my lord: dissuade the queen.
Q. Isab. O Lancaster, let him dissuade the king,
For 'tis against my will he should return.
War. Then speak not for him, let the peasant go.
Q. Isab. 'Tis for myself I speak, and not for him.
Pem. No speaking will prevail, and therefore cease.
Mor. jun. Fair queen, forbear to angle for the fish
Which, being caught, strikes him that takes it dead;

201. *unto*] *upon* Cunn., Fleay, Bull., Ell., Ver. 205. *shipwrack'd*] O has *shipwrack*, Qq. *shipwrackt*, in almost all mod. edd. changed to *shipwrecked*. 212. *unto*] *upon* Cunn. 213. *ye*] so O. Q *you* is generally adopted to Ver. 214. *he*] so O. Qq. omit.

205. *shipwrack'd*] The first edition has *shipwrack*, and Briggs cites a parallel passage in which the noun is again used as an adjective: *Hero and Leander*, II. 164, 'shipwracke treasure'.

211. *tendrest*] carest for: cf. *Hamlet*, I. iii. 107 ff., where Polonius rings many changes on the word.

213. *ye*] The first edition has *ye*, the second, *you*. But Mortimer appears to address his remark, not to the Queen, but to the lords: and *ye* is therefore retained here.

220. *prevail*] avail, cf. *2 Tamburlaine*, II. iv. 124, and *Dido*, V. i. 319.

I mean that vile torpedo, Gaveston,
That now, I hope, floats on the Irish seas.
Q. Isab. Sweet Mortimer, sit down by me awhile,
And I will tell thee reasons of such weight
As thou wilt soon subscribe to his repeal.
Mor. jun. It is impossible; but speak your mind.
Q. Isab. Then thus, but none shall hear it but ourselves.
[*Talks to* MORTIMER *junior apart.*
Lan. My lords, albeit the queen win Mortimer,
Will you be resolute and hold with me?
Mor. sen. Not I, against my nephew.
Pem. Fear not, the queen's words cannot alter him.
War. No? do but mark how earnestly she pleads.
Lan. And see how coldly his looks make denial.
War. She smiles; now for my life his mind is chang'd.
Lan. I'll rather lose his friendship, I, than grant.
Mor. jun. Well, of necessity it must be so.
My lords, that I abhor base Gaveston,
I hope your honours make no question,
And therefore, though I plead for his repeal,
'Tis not for his sake, but for our avail;
Nay for the realm's behoof, and for the king's.

229. S. D. *Talks . . .*] add. Dyce.

223. *torpedo*] cramp-fish, or electric ray, a fish often alluded to in sixteenth-century poetry for its power of giving an electric shock to anyone touching it. It is described by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, ix. 42. The manner in which it exercises its power is variously given by the old naturalists, and their earlier imitators. Often Pliny was extended by information drawn from Oppian's *Halieutica*. Du Bartas, for instance, delights in this curious fish lore, and is especially prolix on the torpedo (*torpille* in French):

'Tis this Torpedo, that when she hath took
Into her throat the sharp deceitfull hook,
. . . . . .
. . . wily, clasping close the fishing line,
Sodeinly spews into the Silver Brine
Her secret-spreading, sodain-speeding bane;
Which, up the Line, and all along the Cane,
Creeps to the hand of th' Angler; who with-all
Benumm'd and sens-less, sodainly lets fall
His hurtfull pole, and his more hatefull prize.'

(Sylvester's trans. (1611), pp. 120 ff.)

Lan. Fie, Mortimer, dishonour not thyself!
Can this be true, 'twas good to banish him?
And is this true, to call him home again?
Such reasons make white black, and dark night day.
Mor. jun. My lord of Lancaster, mark the respect.
Lan. In no respect can contraries be true.
Q. Isab. Yet, good my lord, hear what he can allege.
War. All that he speaks is nothing; we are resolv'd.
Mor. jun. Do you not wish that Gaveston were dead?
Pem. I would he were.
Mor. jun. Why then, my lord, give me but leave to speak.
Mor. sen. But, nephew, do not play the sophister.
Mor. jun. This which I urge is of a burning zeal
To mend the king, and do our country good.
Know you not Gaveston hath store of gold,
Which may in Ireland purchase him such friends
As he will front the mightiest of us all?
And whereas he shall live and be belov'd,
'Tis hard for us to work his overthrow.
War. Mark you but that, my lord of Lancaster.
Mor. jun. But were he here, detested as he is,
How easily might some base slave be suborn'd
To greet his lordship with a poniard,
And none so much as blame the murtherer,
But rather praise him for that brave attempt,
And in the chronicle enrol his name
For purging of the realm of such a plague.
Pem. He saith true.
Lan. Ay, but how chance this was not done before?
Mor. jun. Because, my lords, it was not thought upon.

248. *respect*] consideration of special circumstance.

255. *play the sophister*] a proverbial phrase for 'making use of fallacious arguments': the *N.E.D.* gives examples from Bishop Bale (1550) and Fuller (1640). 'Sophister', the earlier English form of 'sophist' (from O.F. *sophistre*), was usual until Elizabethan times, when the modern form began gradually to establish itself.

272. *how chance*] how chances it; Shakespeare uses the phrase (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, I. i. 129), and it occurs in the *Jew of Malta* (I. i. 88).

Nay, more, when he shall know it lies in us
To banish him and then to call him home,
'Twill make him vail the top-flag of his pride,
And fear to offend the meanest nobleman.
Mor. sen. But how if he do not, nephew?
Mor. jun. Then may we with some colour rise in arms;
For howsoever we have borne it out,
'Tis treason to be up against the king;
So we shall have the people of our side,
Which for his father's sake lean to the king,
But cannot brook a night-grown mushrump,
Such a one as my lord of Cornwall is,
Should bear us down of the nobility.
And when the commons and the nobles join,
'Tis not the king can buckler Gaveston;
We'll pull him from the strongest hold he hath.
My lords, if to perform this I be slack,
Think me as base a groom as Gaveston.
Lan. On that condition, Lancaster will grant.
War. And so will Pembroke and I.
Mor. sen. And I.
Mor. jun. In this I count me highly gratified,
And Mortimer will rest at your command.
Q. Isab. And when this favour Isabel forgets,
Then let her live abandon'd and forlorn.

Repeal granted

282. *of*] *on* Qq. 2, 3, followed by many modern edd. 284. *mushrump*] most nineteenth-century edd. follow Dodsley's *mushroom*. 293. *And so will Pembroke*] Ell. and Ver. assign this to *Pem.*; *and I*] assigned to *War.* by Ell. and Ver.

276. *vail*] lower; see note to sc. ii. 19 above.

279. *colour*] pretext: a very common Elizabethan sense.

282. *of our side*] on our side; sometimes explained as due to a confusion between 'of' and 'on' arising from the fact that both were frequently reduced in speech to the same sound.

284. *mushrump*] 'mushroom' occurred in many variants in Elizabethan English; another is *mushrumbs* (*Jew of Malta*, IV. vi. 63).

288. *buckler*] shield. This verbal use occurs in Shakespeare, but is not otherwise common: it occurs in *2 Henry VI*, III. ii. 216, *3 Henry VI*, III. iii. 99; *Taming of the Shrew*, III. ii. 241.

291. *groom*] slave. See note to l. 97 above.

296–7. *And when . . . forlorn*]

But see, in happy time, my lord the king,
Having brought the earl of Cornwall on his way,
Is new return'd; this news will glad him much;
Yet not so much as me; I love him more
Than he can Gaveston; would he lov'd me
But half so much, then were I treble-bless'd!

Re-enter the KING, *mourning.*

K. Edw. He's gone, and for his absence thus I mourn.
Did never sorrow go so near my heart
As doth the want of my sweet Gaveston;
And could my crown's revenue bring him back,
I would freely give it to his enemies,
And think I gain'd, having bought so dear a friend.
Q. Isab. Hark, how he harps upon his minion.
K. Edw. My heart is as an anvil unto sorrow,
Which beats upon it like the Cyclops' hammers,
And with the noise turns up my giddy brain,
And makes me frantic for my Gaveston.
Ah, had some bloodless Fury rose from hell,
And with my kingly sceptre struck me dead,
When I was forc'd to leave my Gaveston.
Lan. Diablo! What passions call you these?
Q. Isab. My gracious lord, I come to bring you news.

300. *new*] Qq. 2, 3 misprint *news*. 303. S. D.] *Enter King Edward moorning* O, Qq. 308. *I would*] *I'ld* Fleay.

Briggs cites appositely Kyd, *Soliman and Perseda*, IV. i. 198:

'My gratious Lord, when Erastus
doth forget this favor,
Then let him live abandond and
forlorne.'

307. *revenue*] The regular Elizabethan accentuation was as here, 'revénue'.

312. *Cyclops' hammers*] In late classical tradition, the Cyclops were Vulcan's assistants at the forges in his workshop under Mount Etna. See Vergil, *Georgics*, IV. 170 ff., and *Aeneid*, VIII. 418 ff.

315. *bloodless Fury*] The Furies were the avenging goddesses, the instruments by which crime was punished: their home was in hell (Tartarus). The epithet 'bloodless' is perhaps due to the association of the Furies with pallor and death: or it may simply mean 'lifeless' in the sense of 'without human life': in *Richard III*, I. ii. 7, Henry VI's corpse is described as 'Thou bloodless remnant of that royal blood.'

rose] risen. Grammarians of Elizabethan English note the striking irregularity in the use of past participles of strong verbs.

K. Edw. That you have parled with your Mortimer.
Q. Isab. That Gaveston, my lord, shall be repeal'd.
K. Edw. Repeal'd! the news is too sweet to be true.
Q. Isab. But will you love me, if you find it so?
K. Edw. If it be so, what will not Edward do?
Q. Isab. For Gaveston, but not for Isabel.
K. Edw. For thee, fair queen, if thou lovest Gaveston;
I'll hang a golden tongue about thy neck,
Seeing thou hast pleaded with so good success.
Q. Isab. No other jewels hang about my neck
Than these, my lord; nor let me have more wealth
Than I may fetch from this rich treasury:
O how a kiss revives poor Isabel!
K. Edw. Once more receive my hand, and let this be
A second marriage 'twixt thyself and me.
Q. Isab. And may it prove more happy than the first.
My gentle lord, bespeak these nobles fair,
That wait attendance for a gracious look,
And on their knees salute your majesty.

327. *thy*] so OQ.; *my* in Qq. 2, 3.

320. *parled*] Dodsley unnecessarily modernized this to 'parly'd'. 'Parle' is as common as 'parley' in Elizabethan English: e.g. *3 Henry VI*, v. i. 16.

321. *Gaveston . . . shall be repealed*] Holinshed's version of the repeal is as follows: 'The Lordes perceyving the Kings affection, and that the treasure was spent as lavishly as before, thought with themselves that it might be that the King woulde both amende his passed trade of life, and that Pierce being restored home, woulde rather advise hym thereto, than follow his olde maners, considering that it might be well perceyved, that if he continued in the encouraging of the King to lewdnesse, as in tymes past he had done, he could not thinke but that the Lordes woulde bee readie to correct him, as by proufe he had nowe tryed their meanings to be no lesse. Hereupon to retaine amitie, as was thought on both sydes, Pierce by consent of the Lordes was restored home againe (the King meeting him at Chester) to his great comfort and rejoysing for the time, although the malice of the Lordes was such, that such joy lasted not long' (p. 849).

327. *a golden tongue*] It would seem from extracts cited in the *N.E.D.* that artificial (or delineated) figures of a tongue were not unknown as articles of jewelry in the sixteenth century. The Account of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland (1488–92) lists 'A grete serpent toung set with gold, perle and precious stanes.'

328. *so good success*] 'Success' was frequently used for a consequence whether good or bad: hence 'good success' or 'bad success' are also frequent.

330. *these*] i.e. Edward's arms.

K. Edw. Courageous Lancaster, embrace thy king.
And, as gross vapours perish by the sun,
Even so let hatred with thy sovereign's smile.
Live thou with me as my companion.
Lan. This salutation overjoys my heart.
K. Edw. Warwick shall be my chiefest counsellor:
These silver hairs will more adorn my court
Than gaudy silks, or rich imbrotherie.
Chide me, sweet Warwick, if I go astray.
War. Slay me, my lord, when I offend your grace.
K. Edw. In solemn triumphs, and in public shows,
Pembroke shall bear the sword before the king.
Pem. And with this sword Pembroke will fight for you.
K. Edw. But wherefore walks young Mortimer aside?
Be thou commander of our royal fleet;
Or, if that lofty office like thee not,
I make thee here Lord Marshal of the realm.
Mor. jun. My lord, I'll marshal so your enemies,
As England shall be quiet, and you safe.
K. Edw. And as for you, Lord Mortimer of Chirke,
Whose great achievements in our foreign war
Deserves no common place, nor mean reward;
Be you the general of the levied troops,

341. *sovereign's*] OQ have (almost certainly a misprint) *soueraigne*; Qq. 2, 3 *soueraignes*. 356. *so*] *all* Qq. 2, 3. 360. *Deserves*] *Deserve* Dod., followed by edd. to Fleay.

342. *as my companion*] Holinshed relates a quarrel and reconciliation between Edward and Lancaster in the interval before Gaveston's final fall: but it has nothing explicitly to do with Gaveston (see Holinshed, p. 850). The adaptation of the incident to the Gaveston trouble, as well as the further distribution of honours (l. 344) is unhistorical.

344. *chiefest*] Grammatical or logical doubling of comparatives and superlatives was common in Elizabethan English.

346. *imbrotherie*] embroidery: this occurred in many variant forms down to the end of the seventeenth century.

354. *like thee not*] please thee not; the verb 'like' was frequently used impersonally.

361. *Be you the general*] This appointment is unhistorical, but it serves to get the elder Mortimer out of the play. During the civil disturbances about Gaveston, Edward was at war with Scotland; but Mortimer (the elder) of Chirk was not concerned in it. Briggs points out that the idea may have occurred to Marlowe, because (long

That now are ready to assail the Scots.
Mor. sen. In this your grace hath highly honoured me,
For with my nature war doth best agree.
Q. Isab. Now is the king of England rich and strong,
Having the love of his renowned peers.
K. Edw. Ay, Isabel, ne'er was my heart so light.
Clerk of the crown, direct our warrant forth
For Gaveston to Ireland:

Enter BEAUMONT *with warrant.*

Beaumont, fly
As fast as Iris or Jove's Mercury.
Bea. It shall be done, my gracious lord. [*Exit.*
K. Edw. Lord Mortimer, we leave you to your charge.
Now let us in, and feast it royally.
Against our friend the earl of Cornwall comes,
We'll have a general tilt and tournament;
And then his marriage shall be solemnised.
For wot you not that I have made him sure
Unto our cousin, the earl of Gloucester's heir?

369. S. D.] add Dyce. 371. S. D.] add. Dyce. 377. *wot*] so O; Qq. 1, 2 have *wote*, and Q3 *wrote*.

after Gaveston's execution) Mortimer [the younger] is named as fighting against the Scots in Ireland.

370. *Iris . . . Mercury*] As Mercury was messenger for Jove, so especially was Iris for Juno: see Vergil, *Aeneid*, v. 606: 'Irim de coelo misit Saturnia Juno.'

374. *Against*] in preparation for the time when: so in *Genesis* xliii. 25: 'And they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon.'

376. *his marriage*] Holinshed tells of this marriage as taking place before Gaveston's banishment to Ireland. 'At the same Parliament [Oct. 1307 at Northampton], a marriage was concluded betwixt the Earle of Cornewall Peers de Gaveston and the daughter of Gilbert de Clare Erle of Gloucester which he had by his wife the Countesse Joanne de Acres the Kings sister, which marriage was solemnised on all hallowen day next ensuing' (p. 847). Stow, *Annals*, year 1309, names the marriage specifically as following Gaveston's return from exile in Ireland. From this Tancock argues that Marlowe is following Stow; Briggs argues cunningly that Marlowe is following both authorities. The point does not seem worth pursuing.

377. *made . . . sure*] betrothed: see *Jew of Malta*, II. iii. 237, and Cotgrave: '"*Accordailles*" the betrothing or making sure of a man and woman together.'

378. *cousin*] i.e. niece. See note to l. 376 above. Margaret de Clare was not strictly the heiress of the Earl of Gloucester: see notes to *Dramatis Personæ*.

Lan. Such news we hear, my lord.
K. Edw. That day, if not for him, yet for my sake
Who in the triumph will be challenger,
Spare for no cost; we will requite your love.
War. In this or aught your highness shall command us.
K. Edw. Thanks, gentle Warwick: come, let's in and revel.
[*Exeunt all except the* MORTIMERS.
Mor. sen. Nephew, I must to Scotland; thou stayest here.
Leave now to oppose thyself against the king.
Thou seest by nature he is mild and calm,
And, seeing his mind so dotes on Gaveston,
Let him without controulment have his will.
The mightiest kings have had their minions:
Great Alexander lov'd Hephaestion;
The conquering Hercules for Hylas wept;
And for Patroclus stern Achilles droop'd.
And not kings only, but the wisest men:
The Roman Tully lov'd Octavius;
Grave Socrates, wild Alcibiades.

381. *the triumph*] Qq. 2, 3 omit *the*. 384. S. D. *all* etc.] so mod. edd. *Manent Mortimers* O, Qq. 391. *Hephaestion*] *Ephestion* O. 392. *Hercules*] all early edd. erroneously have *Hector*; *for Hylas wept*] *did for Hilas weepe* Q3. 395. *Octavius*] *Octavis* OQ, corrected in Q2.

381. *the triumph*] the tournament. In Elizabethan English this word was applied generally to public festivities or pageants, but especially to tournaments. Cf. Shakespeare, *Richard II*, v. ii. 52: 'jousts and triumphs'.

391. *Alexander . . . Hephaestion*] The friendship of these two is one of the few recorded cases in which such relationship between King and favourite exhibited on neither side the abuses common to the situation.

392. *Hercules*] All the early editions have Hector. But it is clearly a mistake for Hercules. See note on I. i. 144 above.

395. *Tully . . . Octavius*] Briggs points out that there is nothing in the relationship of these two to justify the mention of them here.

396. *Socrates . . . Alcibiades*] The fondness of Socrates for Alcibiades seemed odd to their contemporaries: but Plutarch (*Life of Alcibiades*) has a long paragraph in explanation and justification of it, pointing out that 'many great and rich men . . . were glad to get the good-will of Alcibiades': but Socrates 'perceiving that vertue did appear in him, and was joined with the other beauty of his face and body, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignity and authority, and the great number of his companions, as well of the chiefest of the city, as of strangers, seeking to entice him by flattery, and by many other pleasures: he took upon him to protect him from them all, and not to suffer so goodly an imp to lose the hope of the good fruit of his youth' (Temple Classics ed. of North's *Plutarch*, vol. ii, p. 243).

Then let his grace, whose youth is flexible,
And promiseth as much as we can wish,
Freely enjoy that vain, lighted-headed earl;
For riper years will wean him from such toys.
Mor. jun. Uncle, his wanton humour grieves not me;
But this I scorn, that one so basely born
Should by his sovereign's favour grow so pert,
And riot it with the treasure of the realm.
While soldiers mutiny for want of pay,
He wears a lord's revenue on his back,
And, Midas-like, he jets it in the court,
With base outlandish cullions at his heels,
Whose proud fantastic liveries make such show,
As if that Proteus, god of shapes, appear'd.
I have not seen a dapper Jack so brisk;

409. *make*] *makes* Q3.

400. *toys*] This word was used widely in Elizabethan English in the senses of dallying, amorous sport, fun, crotchet, conceit, trumpery, trinket, and (rarely) a child's plaything. It began to be applied slightingly or contemptuously to a person; the first example cited in *N.E.D.* being *Merry Wives of Windsor*, v. v. 46. Chapman uses the phrase 'take a toy' in the sense of 'take offence': see *Hero and Leander*, v. 418.

406. *a lord's revenue on his back*] During Elizabeth's reign, there was a marked increase in extravagance in dress. Satirists tell of country squires mortgaging their estates to buy dress and of the youth 'with little in his purse, much on his back', and Hall in *Virgidemiarum* (III. vii.) talks of 'The back's great pride'. See also *2 Henry VI*, I. iii. 83: 'She bears a duke's revenues on her back', and *Henry VIII*, I. i. 83–5:

'O, many
Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em
For this great journey.'

407. *Midas-like*] as if all gold. Midas had from Dionysus the gift of the golden touch, turning all to gold.

jets it] struts: Briggs compares Kyd, *Soliman and Perseda*, I. iii. 214: 'He will jet as if it were a Goose on a greene.'

408. *outlandish*] foreign; a well-established word in Elizabethan English. Gaveston, as a Gascon, would have foreign dependents, and Briggs points out that Stow records in his *Annals* that Gaveston attended festivities at York 'with his Outlandish men'.

cullions] Cf. *Every Man in his H.*, III. iii: 'You base cullion, you'.

410. *Proteus*] a god of the sea capable of changing shape at will: cf. Ovid, *Metamorph.*, VIII. 730–7.

411. *dapper Jack*] The *N.E.D.* says that 'dapper' for 'smart, spruce in dress' was formerly appreciative, and is now more or less depreciative. But even in Elizabethan English it appears to have often had a mildly ironical sense; Nashe, for instance, talks

He wears a short Italian hooded cloak,
Larded with pearl, and, in his Tuscan cap,
A jewel of more value than the crown.
Whiles other walk below, the king and he
From out a window laugh at such as we,
And flout our train, and jest at our attire.
Uncle, 'tis this that makes me impatient.

Mor. sen. But, nephew, now you see the king is chang'd.

Mor. jun. Then so am I, and live to do him service : 420
But whiles I have a sword, a hand, a heart,
I will not yield to any such upstart.
You know my mind ; come, uncle, let's away.

[*Exeunt.*

415. *other*] *others* Q2 and most edd. to McL. 417. *jest*] *jet* A.B.D. 418. *that*] omitted Cunn., Wag., Bull., Ell., Ver.

of 'The dapper Mounsier Pages of the Court' ; and his equivalent for 'dapper Jack' is 'dappert Dickie' (McKerrow's *Nashe*, I. 298). Possibly (as the word is cognate with German *tapfer*, brave), there was irony in its original application to smartness of appearance.

Jack] fellow, especially in a depreciative sense ; cf. Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, II. i. 290 : 'A mad-cap ruffian and a swearing Jacke.'

412. *Italian*] Shakespeare and other dramatists often satirize the affectation of foreign, and especially Italian and French, fashions in Elizabethan dress.

413. *Larded*] adorned ; cf. *Hamlet* (IV. v. 35 ff.) :

'White his shroud as the mountain snow,
. . . . . .
Larded with sweet flowers.'

Tuscan cap] I find no reference to these : Jonson, *Poetaster*, III. i., satirizes 'tuscan-tops', a style of hair-dressing.

414. *A jewel*] jewelled brooches and pins were frequently worn in the hat, usually to clasp the feather. Cf. Jonson, *Poetaster*, I. ii. 161 (ed. Herford-Simpson) : 'Honour's a good brooch to weare in a man's hat, at all times.'

415. *other*] i.e. others. Briggs quotes Marlowe's translation of Ovid, *Elegies*, I. vi. 12, 'Be thou as bold as other', for this not uncommon and grammatically correct form.

ACT II

SCENE I

A hall in GLOUCESTER'S *house*

Enter SPENCER *Junior and* BALDOCK.

Bald. Spencer,
Seeing that our lord th' earl of Gloucester's dead,
Which of the nobles dost thou mean to serve?
Spen. jun. Not Mortimer, nor any of his side;
Because the king and he are enemies.
Baldock, learn this of me, a factious lord
Shall hardly do himself good, much less us;
But he that hath the favour of a king,
May with one word advance us while we live:
The liberal earl of Cornwall is the man
On whose good fortune Spencer's hope depends.
Bald. What, mean you then to be his follower?
Spen. jun. No, his companion; for he loves me well,

Act II. Scene i.

In O, Qq. there is no act or scene enumeration; after *Exeunt*, they have *Enter Spencer and Balduck.* Rob. added *Act ii. sc. i.*; Dyce '*A hall in the mansion of the Duke of Gloucester*'. 1–2. *Spencer . . . dead*] O, Qq. print as one line. 3. *dost*] *doest* Q2.

Act II. Scene i.

2. *Gloucester's dead*] Marlowe's invention to bring Spencer and Baldock together into the play as former dependents of Gloucester, which neither had ever been. The suggestion probably comes through the relationship (see l. 13, 'companion') Spencer later acquired to Gaveston by marrying into the Gloucester family, as Gaveston had done. The Earl of Gloucester of Edward II's reign was the ninth; he was killed at Bannockburn in 1314, whereas Gaveston was executed in 1312. His father, the eighth Earl, died in 1295.

13. *companion*] Historically Spencer and Gaveston married two sisters, Spencer the elder, and Gaveston the second daughter, of the eighth Earl of Gloucester. Spencer's father (Spencer Senior of the play) had been almost the only noble to stand by Gaveston when the lords demanded his exile; but Spencer the younger was

And would have once preferr'd me to the king.
Bald. But he is banish'd; there's small hope of him.
Spen. jun. Ay, for a while; but, Baldock, mark the end.
A friend of mine told me in secrecy
That he's repeal'd, and sent for back again;
And even now a post came from the court
With letters to our lady from the king;
And as she read she smil'd, which makes me think
It is about her lover Gaveston.
Bald. 'Tis like enough; for since he was exil'd
She neither walks abroad, nor comes in sight.
But I had thought the match had been broke off,
And that his banishment had chang'd her mind.
Spen. jun. Our lady's first love is not wavering;
My life for thine she will have Gaveston.
Bald. Then hope I by her means to be preferr'd,
Having read unto her since she was a child.
Spen. jun. Then, Baldock, you must cast the scholar off,
And learn to court it like a gentleman.

opposed to the Court party until about 1319, and had, indeed, been nominated by the nobles to Gaveston's place as Chamberlain after Gaveston's execution.

14. *preferr'd*] recommended, introduced; cf. *2 Henry VI*, IV. vii. 77.

20. *our lady*] i.e. Margaret de Clare. In the play, she is still only betrothed, not married to Gaveston; and (again, as the play accommodates the facts of history) by Spencer and Baldock, supposed servants of the de Clares, Earls of Gloucester, called 'our' lady.

30. *Having read unto her* etc.] The Baldock of the play, though an ecclesiastic, and a doctor of Oxford, was not specially associated with scholarship. Perhaps Marlowe is associating with him memories of another Baldock, mentioned by Holinshed in a list of learned men of the time, which he takes from Bale, and with which he concludes his account of Edward II's reign. 'Raufe Bauldocke Bishoppe of London wrote also an Historie, which was intituled *Historia Anglica*' (p. 884). The Baldocke of the play is Robert Baldock, who used his ecclesiastical offices as a means of ministerial preferment. From about 1314 he was permanently employed at court; in 1320 he was Keeper of the Privy Seal, and in 1323 Lord Chancellor. He was, of course, closely bound to the Spencers in royal favour. Holinshed only names him late in Edward's reign: 'Also, master Robert Baldocke, a man evil beloved in the Realme is made Lord Chancellour of England. This Robert Baldocke, and one Simon Reding were great favourers of the Spencers, and so likewise was the Earle of Arundell, and thereby it may be thought, that the Spencers did help to advance them into the Kings favour, so that they bare no small rule in the Realme during the time that the same Spencers continued in prosperitie' (p. 869).

'Tis not a black coat and a little band,
A velvet-cap'd cloak, fac'd before with serge,

33. *black coat* etc.] The black coat was the modest traditional dress of the student. In his *Characters*, Overbury describes 'a mere scholar' as 'an intelligible ass: or a silly fellow in black.' The band was the narrow strip of material round the collar, originally merely a binding but extended a little to lie flat over the garment as a simple trimming. The 'little band' is presumably contrasted with the showy 'ruff' or the broad or 'falling' band patronized by the fashionable. In the following lines Marlowe is broadly indicating the various sorts, and even degrees, of menial occupations falling to the scholar who is seeking to win favour in the world —by serving as domestic chaplain with the nobility, or may be as tutor to the household. Hall (*Virgidemiarum*, II. vi.) has a satire on the conditions under which

'A gentle squire would gladly entertaine
Into his house some trencher-chaplaine.'

Earle's 'downe-right Scholler' (*Microcosmographie*) is praised for his incompetence in the social tricks Spencer is here imagining the ambitious scholar attempting: 'Hee has been used to a darke roome, and darke Clothes, and his eyes dazzle at a Sattin Doublet.' 'He has not humbled his Meditations to the industrie of Complement, not afflicted his braine in an elaborate legge. His body is not set upon nice Pinnes, to bee turning and flexible for every motion, but his scrape is homely, and his nod worse.' 'He is exceedingly censur'd by the Innes a Court men for that hainous Vice being out of fashion.' Overbury ('An Innes of Court man,' in *New Characters*) amplifies the gradations in this path of the scholar to the man of the world: '[The Inns of Court man] is distinguished from a Scholler by a paire of silke stockings, and a Beaver Hat, which makes him contemne a Scholler as much as a Scholler doth a Schoolemaster. . . . He is as farre behinde a Courtier in his fashion as a Scholler is behinde him. . . . Hee laughes at every man whose Band fits not well, or that hath not a faire shoo-tie, and he is ashamed to be seene in any mans company that weares not his cloathes well. His very essence he placeth in his out-side and his chiefest prayer is that his revenues may hold out for Taffata cloakes in the Summer, and Velvet in the Winter.'

34. *A velvet-cap'd cloak* etc.] Tancock points out how closely this dress corresponds with the fashion adopted by the foolish, arrogant 'Young Raw Preacher' described by Earle, whose affectation is nevertheless calculated to please the Puritanically-minded zealous tradesman: 'You shall know him by his narrow velvet cape, and serge facing, and his ruffe, next his hair, the shortest thing about him.' Tancock's quotation, repeated by Briggs, confuses the issue in one detail; it stops at 'ruff'. But ruffs, in contrast to 'little bands', were signs of worldliness, 'the young raw preacher' had a ruff, but it was as narrow as his close-cropped hair was short. So his dress: the velvet-cape was on the brink of fashion, for velvet was expensive; but, like his ruff, he had it 'narrow'. Spencer says nothing of the size of the velvet cape in the text here; but it is presumably just as much a sign of poverty aping fashion as the young raw preacher's, for both cloaks are 'faced with serge', i.e. trimmed or strengthened by an overlay of a certain breadth of serge; and serge was a cheap homely material, as the following passages clearly indicate:—Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, III. ii.: 'I wonder at nothing more than our gentlemen-ushers that will suffer a piece of serge, or perpetuana, to come into the presence', and Powell, *Tom of All Trades*

And smelling to a nosegay all the day,
Or holding of a napkin in your hand,
Or saying a long grace at a table's end,
Or making low legs to a nobleman,
Or looking downward with your eyelids close,
And saying, 'Truly, an't may please your honour,'
Can get you any favour with great men;
You must be proud, bold, pleasant, resolute,
And now and then stab, as occasion serves.

Bald. Spencer, thou knowest I hate such formal toys,
And use them but of mere hypocrisy.
Mine old lord while he liv'd was so precise,
That he would take exceptions at my buttons,
And being like pin's heads, blame me for the bigness;
Which made me curate-like in mine attire,
Though inwardly licentious enough,
And apt for any kind of villainy.
I am none of these common pedants, I,
That cannot speak without *propterea quod.*

44. *knowest*] *know'st* Q3 and all edd. to Ver.; *formal*] omitted Qq. 2, 3. 52. *pedants*] O misprints *pendants.*

(1631), 14, 'Where one is ready to take his rise out of Sierge into Sattin, out of Parsonage . . . into a Deanarie'.

35. *smelling to a nosegay*] Earle's 'young raw preacher' had a similar affectation, a handkerchief (presumably perfumed) taking the place of the nosegay: 'he spits with a very good grace. His style is compounded of twenty several men's, only his body imitates some one extraordinary. He will not draw his handkerchief out of his place, nor blow his nose without discretion.'

37. *at a table's end*] i.e. at the bottom end; one of the conditions Hall describes as part of the chaplain's life (see note to l. 33 above) is:

'Second, that he do, on no default
Ever presume to sit above the salt.'

38. *making low legs*] i.e. bowing low.

39. *eyelids close*] Briggs cites *Hero and Leander*, I. 158–9:

'There Hero sacrificing turtles blood,
Vaild to the ground, vailing her eie-lids close.'

He points out that in the whole of this speech Marlowe is referring to the conditions of his own time, and in particular appears to be girding at the Puritans.

40. *an't*] i.e. an it, if it.

44. *toys*] see note to I. iv. 400 above.

47. *take exceptions*] see note to I. ii. 25 above.

53. *propterea quod*] because. The point of this and the next two lines is fairly clear. Baldock asserts that formal pedantries of speech are his servants, not he their slave.

Spen. jun. But one of those that saith, *quandoquidem*,
And hath a special gift to form a verb.
Bald. Leave off this jesting, here my lady comes.

Enter the KING'S Niece.

Niece. The grief for his exile was not so much,
As is the joy of his returning home.
This letter came from my sweet Gaveston:
What needst thou, love, thus to excuse thyself? 60
I know thou couldst not come and visit me:
[*Reads.*] 'I will not long be from thee, though I die.'
This argues the entire love of my lord;
[*Reads.*] 'When I forsake thee, death seize on my heart':
But rest thee here where Gaveston shall sleep.
[*Placing the letter in her bosom.*
Now to the letter of my lord the king.
He wills me to repair unto the court,
And meet my Gaveston. Why do I stay,
Seeing that he talks thus of my marriage-day?
Who's there? Baldock! 70
See that my coach be ready, I must hence.
Bald. It shall be done, madam.

56. S. D. *Enter . . .*] *Enter the Ladie* early edd. 65. *But rest*] This is the reading of O; Q omits *rest*; Qq. 2, 3 have *But stay*, which is general from Reed to Ver.; Dod. had changed to *I put . . .* S. D.] add. Broughton.

But the exact point of contrast between *propterea quod* and *quandoquidem* is not clear. Briggs thinks the point of the contrast is probably in some forgotten idiom of students: 'as college students were supposed to do their conversing in Latin, it may well have come about that the cumbrous and formal *propterea quod* may have fallen into disfavour among the more elegant spirits, and *quandoquidem* have become a sign of culture as distinct from pedantry'.

55. *form a verb*] The sense is not clear—unless it means that he can twist and combine speech to serve any purpose, even, as it were, inventing the most significant word in his sentence. Tancock says that the phrase is a rendering of 'verba formare' in Quintilian, i. 12. 9, meaning 'to pronounce aright', and, here, is a cant or slang phrase meaning 'to put a thing neatly', 'to say the right thing'. But he gives no authority for this usage.

71. *coach*] Coaches were unknown in Edward II's time, and were still a novelty when Marlowe wrote.

Niece. And meet me at the park-pale presently.
[*Exit* BALDOCK.

Spencer, stay you and bear me company,
For I have joyful news to tell thee of;
My lord of Cornwall is a-coming over,
And will be at the court as soon as we.

Spen. jun. I knew the king would have him home again.

Niece. If all things sort out as I hope they will,
Thy service, Spencer, shall be thought upon.

Spen. jun. I humbly thank your ladyship.

Niece. Come, lead the way; I long till I am there.
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE II

Before Tynemouth Castle

Enter the KING, *the* QUEEN, KENT, LANCASTER, MORTIMER *Junior*, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, *and* Attendants.

K. Edw. The wind is good, I wonder why he stays;
I fear me he is wrack'd upon the sea.

73. S. D. *Exit . . .*] This is marked *Exit* (at l. 72) in O, Qq. 82. S. D. *Exeunt*] This is not marked in early edd.

Scene ii.

add. Rob. *Before Tynemouth Castle*] add. Dyce. S.D.] *Enter Edward, the Queene, Lancaster, Mortimer, Warwicke, Pembrooke, Kent, attendants* O, Qq.

Scene ii.

S. D. *Before Tynemouth Castle*] See l. 51. Holinshed (see extract cited in note to I. iv. 321 above) tells that the King went to Chester to meet Gaveston. It is not clear why Marlowe chose Tynemouth, which is only casually mentioned in Holinshed as a place in which Gaveston sought temporary refuge when the lords were assembled to seize him. 'Such Lordes and other more that were thus abused at thys Erle of Cornwals handes, determined to bee revenged upon him, and to dispatch the realme of such a wicked person; and thereupon assembling their powers together, came towardes Newcastell, whither the King from Yorke was removed, and now hearing of their approch, he got him to Tynmouth, where the Queene lay, and understanding there that Newcastell was taken by the Lordes, hee leaving the Queene behinde him, tooke shipping, and sayled from thence with his dearely beloved familiar the Earle of Cornewall, unto Scarborough, where he left him in the Castell, and rode himselfe towardes Warwike' (p. 851).

Q. Isab. Look, Lancaster, how passionate he is,
And still his mind runs on his minion.
Lan. My lord,—
K. Edw. How now! what news? is Gaveston arriv'd?
Mor. jun. Nothing but Gaveston! what means your grace?
You have matters of more weight to think upon;
The King of France sets foot in Normandy.
K. Edw. A trifle! we'll expel him when we please.
But tell me, Mortimer, what's thy device
Against the stately triumph we decreed?
Mor. jun. A homely one, my lord, not worth the telling.
K. Edw. Prithee let me know it.
Mor. jun. But seeing you are so desirous, thus it is:
A lofty cedar-tree, fair flourishing,
On whose top-branches kingly eagles perch,
And by the bark a canker creeps me up,
And gets unto the highest bough of all:
The motto, *Æque tandem.*
K. Edw. And what is yours, my lord of Lancaster?
Lan. My lord, mine's more obscure than Mortimer's.
Pliny reports there is a flying fish

14. *Prithee*] *Prethee* O; *Pray thee* Qq. 19. *unto*] *into* Cunn., Fleay–Ver. 23. *a*] omit. Q.

3. *passionate*] emotionally excited. 'Passion' was not limited to anger in Elizabethan English; its commonest Elizabethan sense was 'love'.

4. *his mind* etc.] Cf. *Massacre at Paris*, xi. 46: 'His mind, you see, runs on his minions.'

9. *The King of France*] This episode is fictitious.

11. *device*] A painting on a shield with an appropriate motto attached. In the form of 'imprese', devices were of much interest to the sixteenth century, and books, collecting and expounding them, were fairly common, especially in Italy: e.g. Scipion Bargagli's *Dell' Imprese* (1594), in which the 'device' or 'impresa' is defined as 'espressione di singular concetto d'animo, per via di similitudine, con figura d'alcuna cosa naturale (fuor della specie dell' huomo) ovvero artificiale, da brevi parole necessariamente accompagnata intorno a quello ch'imprendiamo a dover fare.'

20. *Æque tandem*] equally at length, i.e. the canker in the end is equal in height to the tree, as it creeps finally to the very top.

23. *Pliny reports* etc.] Editors point out that Pliny does not attribute to the flying fish the characteristics here given. Tancock quotes from *John Hawkins's Second Voyage* 1565 (republished in Hakluyt) an account of flying-fish which is much nearer to Marlowe's: 'Of these [flying fish] we sawe comming out of Guinea, a hun-

Which all the other fishes deadly hate,
And therefore, being pursued, it takes the air:
No sooner is it up, but there's a fowl
That seizeth it; this fish, my lord, I bear,
The motto this: *Undique mors est.*

K. Edw. Proud Mortimer! ungentle Lancaster!
Is this the love you bear your sovereign?
Is this the fruit your reconcilement bears?
Can you in words make show of amity,
And in your shields display your rancorous minds?
What call you this but private libelling
Against the earl of Cornwall and my brother?

Q. Isab. Sweet husband, be content, they all love you.

K. Edw. They love me not that hate my Gaveston.
I am that cedar, shake me not too much;
And you the eagles; soar ye ne'er so high,
I have the jesses that will pull you down;
And *Æque tandem* shall that canker cry
Unto the proudest peer of Britainy.

29. S. D.] This speech is given to Kent by Dyce and all edd. to Ver. 39. *ye*] *you* Q3. 40. *jesses*] O, Qq. misprint *gresses*.

dredth in a companie, which being chased by the Giltheads, otherwise called the Bonitoes [i.e. the striped tunny-fish], doe to avoyde them the better take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre . . . when they can flye no further, [they] fall into the water. . . . There is a sea foule also that chaseth this flying fish as wel as the Bonito; for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this foule pursue to take her.'

28. *Undique mors est*] on all sides is death.

29. *Proud Mortimer* etc.] Though all early edd. give this speech to the King, Dyce's giving of it to Kent has been generally adopted. But Briggs properly reverts to the Quarto allocation. Dyce's change was clearly made to get over a seeming difficulty in l. 35 where the speaker says 'my brother'. But the difficulty is not a real one: 'my brother' is the King's term of endearment for the Earl of Cornwall. Briggs adds that Stow in his *Annals* says that Edward was in the habit of calling Gaveston brother.

31. *Is this the fruit* etc.] Crawford (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, xxxix) compares *Arden of Feversham*, I. 187:

'Is this the fruit thy reconcilement buds?'

40. *jesses*] short straps of leather, silk or other material fastened round the legs of a trained hawk. These were permanently fixed to the hawk, and she was held by them: cf. *Othello*, III. iii. 261: 'Though that her jesses were my dear heart-strings.'

42. *Britainy*] i.e. England. In medieval times, Britain was the

Though thou compar'st him to a flying fish,
And threatenest death whether he rise or fall,
'Tis not the hugest monster of the sea,
Nor foulest harpy that shall swallow him.

Mor. jun. If in his absence thus he favours him,
What will he do whenas he shall be present?

Lan. That shall we see; look where his lordship comes.

Enter GAVESTON.

K. Edw. My Gaveston! 50
Welcome to Tynemouth, welcome to thy friend!
Thy absence made me droop and pine away;
For, as the lovers of fair Danae,
When she was lock'd up in a brazen tower,
Desir'd her more, and wax'd outrageous,
So did it sure with me: and now thy sight
Is sweeter far than was thy parting hence

50–1. *My Gaveston* etc.] O, Qq. print as one line. 56. *sure*] Q3 and all edd. to Ver. have *fare*.

name used for the whole island prior to the coming of the Angles and Saxons; and Shakespeare uses it always in this sense. But in the sixteenth century it was becoming a current term to describe contemporary England and Scotland together, perhaps because a union of the two crowns was anticipated. Spenser, however, uses 'greater Brytayne' for England (*Faerie Queene*, III. ii. 7) to distinguish it from lesser Britain, i.e. Brittany, and Marlowe's 'Britain' is England. The form of the word, Britainy for Britain, is very common in the sixteenth century. Shakespeare has 'Britanie' (*Cymbeline*, I. iv. 77); see also Marston (*Antonio and Mellida* A. i), and Mason (*Mulleasses* prol.).

46. *foulest harpy*] Marlowe is not thinking of the Homeric harpies, but of those of later tradition. They were hideous winged birds with women's heads. They are best known for their tormenting of the blind Phineus, whose food they snatched from his table. Hence Marlowe's notion of their voracity.

53. *Danae*] the daughter of Acrisius. An oracle had declared that her child would kill her father; so Acrisius locked her up in a brazen tower. But Jupiter visited her in the form of a golden shower (see III. iii. 83 below), and their son Perseus fulfilled the oracle. The ordinary tradition says nothing of her having any lover but Jupiter when she was locked in the tower. But Marlowe may have known the less common traditions which made Perseus the son of Danae and her uncle Proteus. More likely he is running into the tower-story a later episode in Danae's life. She became the slave of Polydectes, King of Seriphos, who sought her favours in vain, and so to obtain undisturbed possession of her, he sent off her son Perseus on the hazardous quest for Medusa's head.

Bitter and irksome to my sobbing heart.

Gav. Sweet lord and king, your speech preventeth mine,
Yet have I words left to express my joy:
The shepherd nipt with biting winter's rage
Frolics not more to see the painted spring,
Than I do to behold your majesty.

K. Edw. Will none of you salute my Gaveston?

Lan. Salute him? yes; welcome Lord Chamberlain.

Mor. jun. Welcome is the good earl of Cornwall.

War. Welcome, Lord Governor of the Isle of Man.

Pem. Welcome, Master Secretary.

Kent. Brother, do you hear them?

K. Edw. Still will these earls and barons use me thus?

Gav. My lord, I cannot brook these injuries.

Q. Isab. Ay me, poor soul, when these begin to jar. [*Aside.*

K. Edw. Return it to their throats, I'll be thy warrant.

Gav. Base, leaden earls, that glory in your birth,
Go sit at home and eat your tenants' beef;
And come not here to scoff at Gaveston,
Whose mounting thoughts did never creep so low
As to bestow a look on such as you.

Lan. Yet I disdain not to do this for you. [*Draws his sword.*

K. Edw. Treason, treason! where's the traitor?

68. *Master*] *maister* O, *maiste* Q. S. D. *Draws his sword*] add. Dyce. 72. S. D. *Aside*] add. Dyce. 79.

59. *preventeth*] anticipates, a common Elizabethan sense; see *Hamlet*, II. ii. 305.

62. *painted*] i.e. with flowers. 'A translation of the common classical epithet "pictum", as "prata picta", flowery meadows' (Tancock).

68. *Secretary*] This was a distinguished office in medieval times; its holder shared the King's 'secrets'.

74. *Base* etc.] This is, of course, a fictitious speech based on Holinshed's accounts of Gaveston's pride (see quotations in notes to Act I., Sc. ii., l. 18, above). As Tancock observes, the particular wording is more suited to express the scorn of an Elizabethan courtier for the country gentlemen of the time than of the historical Gaveston for Edward's barons.

Pem. Here! here!
K. Edw. Convey hence Gaveston; they'll murder him.
Gav. The life of thee shall salve this foul disgrace.
Mor. jun. Villain, thy life, unless I miss mine aim.
[*Wounds* GAVESTON.
Q. Isab. Ah! furious Mortimer, what hast thou done?
Mor. jun. No more than I would answer, were he slain.
[*Exit* GAVESTON *with* Attendants.
K. Edw. Yes, more than thou canst answer, though he live;
Dear shall you both aby this riotous deed.
Out of my presence, come not near the court.
Mor. jun. I'll not be barr'd the court for Gaveston. 90
Lan. We'll hale him by the ears unto the block.
K. Edw. Look to your own heads; his is sure enough.
War. Look to your own crown, if you back him thus.

81–82. *Here! here!* etc.] O, Qq. make this one line, allocating it to *Pem.*, and reading *Heere, here King: convey hence Gaveston, thaile murder him.* Of modern edds. only Cunn. accepts this. Bull., Fleay and Briggs follow Dyce[1] in dividing the line after *King* and prefixing *Edw.* as speech allocation before the rest. Tancock and Wag. follow Dyce[2] in omitting *King* except as a prefix to the inserted speech allocation *Edw.* 84. S. D. *Wounds Gaveston*] add. Dyce. 86. S. D. *Exit Gaveston . . .*] add. Dyce. 88. *aby*] *abide* Qq.–Ver.

81–82. *Here! here!* etc.] See the list of variants above. It seems clear that some alteration of the early edd. is necessary. The text adopted here is more difficult to defend than at first appears: it seems easy to take *King* as the intrusion of a speech heading into the text. But in O, Qq. the King's speeches are never prefixed by *King*: the form is always *Edw.* Still, to imagine Pembroke, not the most violent enemy of the King's, brusquely addressing Edward as 'King' seems even harder to justify. Greg approves the reading adopted here, explaining that it is of course not merely a case of consecutive speeches being run together, as is proved by the prefix being 'given as "King" instead of "Edw."' and also by the fact that whereas a prefix has a full stop after it, *King* is followed by a colon in the first ed. He concludes: 'The inference is that in the copy the King's speech was a marginal addition written in by a different hand or at least on a different occasion.'

88. *aby*] pay the penalty for, suffer for. It would appear that this word was becoming obsolete at the end of the sixteenth century, though it is familiar from medieval English until then. Spenser has it several times: but it is remarkable that both here in Marlowe and in Shakespeare, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III. ii. 175, though the first editions have *abie*, the second editions (dated Marlowe 1598, Shakespeare 1600 (but probably 1619)) change to 'abide'. 'Abide' was then used in the same sense possibly because 'to aby' implied abiding for or awaiting the penalty.

Kent. Warwick, these words do ill beseem thy years.
K. Edw. Nay, all of them conspire to cross me thus;
But if I live, I'll tread upon their heads
That think with high looks thus to tread me down.
Come, Edmund, let's away and levy men,
'Tis war that must abate these barons' pride.
[*Exeunt* KING EDWARD, QUEEN ISABELLA, *and* KENT.
War. Let's to our castles, for the king is mov'd.
Mor. jun. Mov'd may he be, and perish in his wrath!
Lan. Cousin, it is no dealing with him now,
He means to make us stoop by force of arms:
And therefore let us jointly here protest,
To prosecute that Gaveston to the death.
Mor. jun. By heaven, the abject villain shall not live.
War. I'll have his blood, or die in seeking it.
Pem. The like oath Pembroke takes.
Lan. And so doth Lancaster.
Now send our heralds to defy the king;
And make the people swear to put him down.

Enter a Post.

Mor. jun. Letters: from whence?
Mess. From Scotland, my lord.
Lan. Why, how now, cousin, how fares all our friends?
Mor. jun. My uncle's taken prisoner by the Scots.

99. S. D. *Exeunt King* etc.] substituted by Dyce for O, Qq. *Exit the King.* 112. *fares*] Dyce and most mod. edd. before Briggs follow Dod.'s *fare.*

94. *thy years*] Holinshed records Warwick's death in 1315: 'Guy Earle of Warwike, a man of greate counsaile and skilfull providence, departed thys life this yeare, and was buryed at the Abbey of Bordisley.'
102. *it is no dealing*] i.e. there is no dealing.
104. *protest*] vow, as in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, I. i. 89.
109. *defy*] renounce allegiance to; the primary sense of the word.
113. *uncle's taken prisoner*] This is not historical. Tancock points out that the incident resembles the Edmund Mortimer incident in the reign of Henry IV, and refers to Shakespeare's version of it in *1 Henry IV*, I. iii. 77 ff. Briggs adds a note on another incident which may have suggested Mar-

Lan. We'll have him ransom'd, man; be of good cheer.
Mor. jun. They rate his ransom at five thousand pound.
Who should defray the money but the king,
Seeing he is taken prisoner in his wars?
I'll to the king.
Lan. Do, cousin, and I'll bear thee company.
War. Meantime, my lord of Pembroke and myself
Will to Newcastle here, and gather head.
Mor. jun. About it then, and we will follow you.
Lan. Be resolute and full of secrecy.
War. I warrant you.

[*Exeunt all but* MORTIMER *and* LANCASTER.

Mor. jun. Cousin, and if he will not ransom him,
I'll thunder such a peal into his ears,
As never subject did unto his king.
Lan. Content, I'll bear my part. Holla! who's there?

Enter Guard.

Mor. jun. Ay, marry, such a guard as this doth well.
Lan. Lead on the way.
Guard. Whither will your lordships?
Mor. jun. Whither else but to the king?
Guard. His highness is dispos'd to be alone.
Lan. Why, so he may, but we will speak to him.
Guard. You may not in, my lord.
Mor. jun. May we not?

Enter the KING *and* KENT.

K. Edw. How now!—What noise is this?

124. S. D. *Exeunt* etc.] Briggs; instead of Dyce's *Exit with Pem.* 128. S. D. *Enter Guard*] add. Rob. 136. S. D. *Enter the King* etc.] add. Rob.

lowe's invention: in 1315 Mortimer junior (but Holinshed simply says Sir Roger Mortimer) was defeated (but not taken) by the Scots in Ireland.

121. *Newcastle*] See quotation from Holinshed in note to II. ii. 1 above.

gather head] collect forces, as in *Massacre at Paris*, viii. 26.

Who have we there, is't you?

[*Going.*

Mor. jun. Nay, stay, my lord, I come to bring you news;
Mine uncle's taken prisoner by the Scots.
K. Edw. Then ransom him.
Lan. 'Twas in your wars; you should ransom him.
Mor. jun. And you shall ransom him, or else——
Kent. What, Mortimer! you will not threaten him?
K. Edw. Quiet yourself, you shall have the broad seal,
To gather for him thoroughout the realm.
Lan. Your minion Gaveston hath taught you this.
Mor. jun. My lord, the family of the Mortimers
Are not so poor, but, would they sell their land,
Would levy men enough to anger you.
We never beg, but use such prayers as these.

[*Laying hold of his sword.*

K. Edw. Shall I still be haunted thus?
Mor. jun. Nay, now you are here alone, I'll speak my mind.
Lan. And so will I, and then, my lord, farewell.
Mor. jun. The idle triumphs, masks, lascivious shows,
And prodigal gifts bestow'd on Gaveston,
Have drawn thy treasure dry, and made thee weak,
The murmuring commons overstretched hath.
Lan. Look for rebellion, look to be depos'd;
Thy garrisons are beaten out of France,
And, lame and poor, lie groaning at the gates.

138. S. D. *Going*] add. Dyce. 150. *Would*] *Twould* Qq. 2, 3 and most later edd. 151. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 152. *haunted*] *taunted* Rob. 157. *treasure*] *treasury* Qq. 2, 3. 158. *hath*] *break* Dod. and most mod. edd.

145. *broad seal*] i.e an authority (letters patent or a brief) under the Great Seal for collecting alms for a special purpose. Warrants of this kind exempted the holders from the penalties otherwise attached to beggars.

152. *haunted*] persistently followed; as frequently in Shakespeare.

160–5. *Thy garrisons* etc.] Lancaster's summary picture, in these six lines, of the calamities from which England was suffering, is a composite picture comprehending in unchronological and general fashion characteristic episodes. Editors have cited illustrative, but not specifically parallel passages from Holinshed: but if Marlowe

The wild Oneyl, with swarms of Irish kerns,
Lives uncontroll'd within the English pale.
Unto the walls of York the Scots made road,
And unresisted drave away rich spoils.

164. *made*] *make* Dod. to Ver. 165. *drave*] this is O, Qq. text. Dod. to Rob. have *draw*; Dyce to Ver. *drive*.

was indebted to any particular passage, it was probably this: 'heere is to bee noted, that during the tyme whilest the civill warre was in hande betwixt K. Edward and his Barons, the Scottes and Frenchmen were not idle, for the Scottes wasted and destroyed the countrey of the Bishopricke of Durham (as before ye have partly heard) and the Frenchmen *made roades and incursions* into the borders of Guyenne, alledging that they did it upon good and sufficiente occasion . . . but the true occasion . . . was . . . for so much as they understood the discord betwixt him and his Barons, and how infortunately hee had spedde against the Scottes' (p. 869). Any more particular suggestion is not to be found in Holinshed. For example, late in his reign, Edward was at war with France, and generally was beaten; but no particular episode corresponding to the line in the text is to be found in the historians.

162. *Oneyl*] Marlowe appears to be using the name as representative of an Irish rebel leader; and his sixteenth-century audience would be familiar with the name from contemporary incidents in Ireland. There was, of course, trouble in Ireland in Edward's reign, where the Scots and Irish joined together against the English; but the chroniclers Marlowe probably knew name no O'Neill amongst them. Tancock points out, however, that the O'Neills helped Bruce in these insurrections. But he also refers to a striking parallel to these lines to be found in the *First Part of the Contention*, ix. 133:

'The wilde Onele my Lords is up in Armes
With troupes of Irish kernes that, uncontroul'd,
Doth plant themselves within the English pale',

where, of course, the setting is not in Edward II's reign: Briggs thinks this close parallel argues for Marlowe's collaboration in the *First Part*: See our Introduction, p. 12.

Irish kerns] Onions, *Shakespeare Glossary*, defines *kern* as 'light-armed Irish foot-soldier', quoting from Dymmok, 1600, a longer description, 'a kinde of footeman, sleightly armed with a sworde, a targett of woode, or a bow and sheaf of arrows with barbed heades or els three dartes'.

163. *the English pale*] the small portion of Ireland round Dublin which could be supervised sufficiently to enable it to be comparatively safe for English settlers.

164. *walls of York*] Holinshed recounts frequent incursions of the Scots into England, but he mentions no actual attack on York, although the name of the city frequently occurs in his narrative of Scottish happenings. E.g. in 1319, Edward's army against the Scots was sent 'to Yorke, where the generall assembly of the armie was made' (p. 857). After Bannockburn, 'The King of Englande having escaped from this battayle . . . came to Yorke' (p. 853). During another invasion of 'the marches of Yorkeshire' the 'Archbishop of Yorke, meaning in time of such necessitie to doe his indevour in defence of hys Countrey, assembled suche power as he could gette togyther of Clearkes, Monkes, Chanons', etc., but was unfortunately defeated at Mitton-on-Swale, and 'The Mayor of Yorke named Nicholas Fleming

Mor. jun. The haughty Dane commands the narrow seas,
While in the harbour ride thy ships unrigg'd.
Lan. What foreign prince sends thee ambassadors?
Mor. jun. Who loves thee, but a sort of flatterers?
Lan. Thy gentle queen, sole sister to Valois,
Complains that thou hast left her all forlorn.
Mor. jun. Thy court is naked, being bereft of those
That makes a king seem glorious to the world;
I mean the peers, whom thou shouldst dearly love:
Libels are cast again thee in the street:
Ballads and rhymes made of thy overthrow.
Lan. The Northern borderers seeing their houses burnt,
Their wives and children slain, run up and down,
Cursing the name of thee and Gaveston.
Mor. jun. When wert thou in the field with banner spread?
But once, and then thy soldiers march'd like players,

173. *makes*] Dod. and most mod. edd. have *make*. 175. *again*] This is OQ text; Qq. 2, 3 have *against*, followed from Dod. to Rob. and Cunn. 177. *their*] O has *the*, but Q etc. *their*. 180. *banner*] *banners* Q3.

was slaine' (p. 857). Perhaps these references from the source which Marlowe was mainly relying on are enough to suggest the attack on York. On the other hand, he could have found in Stow (*Summarie of Chron. of Eng.* 1587, p. 133) *sub anno* 1318: 'The King being at Yorke, the Scots entered England, came to Yorke, and burnt the suburbes of the city.' [The record is almost identical in the 1575 ed. of the *Summary* and in the 1580 *Chron.*]

made road] 'Road' is marked in the *N.E.D.* as very common in Elizabethan English in the now obsolete sense of 'raid', 'raid' being the Scots form of the 'road' now adopted generally for the special sense 'road' has lost.

166. *haughty Dane*] It is surprising (and unhistorical) that Danes should be named as concerned with Edward II's time, and still more surprising to find them described as commanding the 'narrow seas', i.e. the English Channel. Briggs suggests that it reflects Elizabethan antagonism to Denmark arising from commercial disputes. But the point seems somewhat strained. A verbal parallel to *3 Henry VI*, I. i. 239, is worth noting: 'Stern Falconbridge commands the narrow seas.'

170. *Valois*] Tancock points out that Isabella's brothers, successively Kings of France, were not of the house of Valois, although her cousin Philip of Valois followed her third brother on the throne of France.

175. *Libels*] defamatory pamphlets; cf. *Richard III*, I. i. 33.

181. *like players*] Holinshed introduces his account of Bannockburn as follows: 'King Edwarde to be revenged hereof, with a

With garish robes, not armour, and thyself,
Bedaub'd with gold, rode laughing at the rest,
Nodding and shaking of thy spangled crest,
Where women's favours hung like labels down.

Lan. And thereof came it that the fleering Scots
To England's high disgrace, have made this jig;
'Maids of England, sore may you mourn,
For your lemans you have lost at Bannocksbourn,
With a heave and a ho!
What weeneth the King of England,
So soon to have won Scotland?—
With a rombelow'.

186. *thereof*] *therefore* Qq. 2, 3, Ell., Ver. 191. *weeneth*] *weened* Dod., Ox., Rob.

mightie armie bravely furnished, and gorgeously apparelled, more seemely for a triumph, than meet to encounter with the cruel enimie in the field, entred Scotland, in purpose specially to rescue the Castel of Sterling, as then besieged by the Scottishmen. But at his approching nere to the same, Robert Bruce was redie with his power to give him battail. In the which King Edward nothing doubtful of losse, had so unwisely ordred his people, and confounded their rankes, that even at the first joyning, they were not onely beaten downe and overthrowne by those that coped with them at hande, but also were wounded with shotte afarre off, by those their enimyes which stoode behinde to succour theyr fellowes when need required, so that in the ende the Englishmen fledde to save their lives, and were chased and slaine by the Scottes in great number' (p. 850).

185. *labels*] slips of paper or parchment for affixing a seal to a document; as figuratively in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. i. 57.

186. *fleering*] gibing; so in Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, I. v. 61, *Julius Caesar*, I. iii. 117.

187. *jig*] Originally a jig was a lively dance, then the tune for such a dance. But in Elizabethan English, it was also used for a lively, mocking or scurrilous song. From the citations in *N.E.D.*, it would appear as if in this sense it was more frequently called a 'Scottish jig'. The words of the jig quoted by Marlowe are not in Holinshed; but they are in Fabyan's *Chronicle*, who adds 'this songe was after many dayes sungyn, in daunces, in carolis of the maydens and mynstrellys of Scotlande, to the reproofe and disdayne of Englysshe men'. Editors have not noticed that the 'jig' was taken by Fabyan from *Brut*, *circa* 1315 (ed. 1906), clxxxviii. 208.

189. *lemans*] sweethearts, paramours.

193. *rombelow*] or rumbelow, a meaningless word originally used as a refrain for songs sung by sailors whilst rowing. It often occurred in association, as here, with *heave* and *ho*: cf. Watson, *Decacordon* (1602), 95: 'Have at him . . . with heave and hoe rumbelow.' Fabyan, *sub anno* 1453, has a roundel of which the first line is

'Heave and ho, rumbelow.'

Mor. jun. Wigmore shall fly to set my uncle free.
Lan. And when 'tis gone, our swords shall purchase more.
If ye be mov'd, revenge it as you can;
Look next to see us with our ensigns spread.
[*Exit with* MORTIMER *junior.*

K. Edw. My swelling heart for very anger breaks.
How oft have I been baited by these peers?
And dare not be reveng'd, for their power is great.
Yet, shall the crowing of these cockerels
Affright a lion? Edward, unfold thy paws,
And let their lives' blood slake thy fury's hunger.
If I be cruel and grow tyrannous,
Now let them thank themselves, and rue too late.
Kent. My lord, I see your love to Gaveston
Will be the ruin of the realm and you,
For now the wrathful nobles threaten wars,
And therefore, brother, banish him for ever.
K. Edw. Art thou an enemy to my Gaveston?
Kent. Ay, and it grieves me that I favoured him.
K. Edw. Traitor, begone! whine thou with Mortimer.
Kent. So will I, rather than with Gaveston.
K. Edw. Out of my sight, and trouble me no more.
Kent. No marvel though thou scorn thy noble peers,
When I thy brother am rejected thus.
K. Edw. Away! [*Exit* KENT.
Poor Gaveston, that hast no friend but me,

195. *gone*] *done* Pink. 196. *ye*] *you* Q3, Dyce etc.; *as*] *if* Q3, Rob., Cunn., Pink. 197. S. D. *Exit* etc.] *Exeunt Nobiles* OQ; *Exeunt Nobles* Q2, 3. 198. *for*] *with* Q3. 217–18. *Away* etc.] O, Qq. print as one line. 218. *hast*] *has* Cunn., Fleay, Ell., Pink., Ver.

194. *Wigmore* etc.] 'Wigmore Castle, my property, shall be sold' (Tancock).

195. *purchase*] In earlier usage 'gain, acquire, win' was commoner than the modern sense 'acquire by payment of money'.

202. *unfold thy paws*] Briggs quotes *1 Tamburlaine*, I. ii. 52–3:

'As princely lions when they rouse themselves,
Stretching their paws, and threatening herds of beasts.'

206. *I see your love* etc.] Kent, in Holinshed, first appears late in the King's reign, and on the side of the King's enemies. Marlowe, bringing him in earlier, gives a motive to his desertion of the King.

Do what they can, we'll live in Tynemouth here,
And, so I walk with him about the walls,
What care I though the earls begirt us round?
Here comes she that's cause of all these jars.

Enter the QUEEN *with the* KING'S Niece, *two* Ladies, GAVESTON, BALDOCK *and* SPENCER *junior.*

Q. Isab. My lord, 'tis thought the earls are up in arms.
K. Edw. Ay, and 'tis likewise thought you favour him.
Q. Isab. Thus do you still suspect me without cause?
Niece. Sweet uncle, speak more kindly to the queen.
Gav. My lord, dissemble with her, speak her fair.
K. Edw. Pardon me, sweet, I forgot myself.
Q. Isab. Your pardon is quickly got of Isabel.
K. Edw. The younger Mortimer is grown so brave,
That to my face he threatens civil wars.
Gav. Why do you not commit him to the Tower?
K. Edw. I dare not, for the people love him well.
Gav. Why, then we'll have him privily made away.
K. Edw. Would Lancaster and he had both carous'd
A bowl of poison to each other's health.
But let them go, and tell me what are these.
Niece. Two of my father's servants whilst he liv'd;
May't please your grace to entertain them now?

222. *comes*] *cometh* Dod.–Rob., Cunn., Wag., Bull., Ell., Ver. S. D.] so mod. edd. *Enter the Queene, Ladies* 3, *Baldock, and Spencer,* O, Qq. 224. *him*] This is the O, Qq. text; Dyce, Bull., T. Brooke, Briggs have *'em*; Dod.–Rob., Cunn., Wag., Fleay, *them.* 228. *I forgot*] *I had forgot* Rob., followed by most edd. from Cunn. to Ver.

224. *him*] As will be seen from the list of variants, no editor accepts this O, Qq. reading. It is, of course, easy to imagine it as a misprint for *'em* or *them.* But there is no reason to desert the early edd. Mortimer is not mentioned in the context by name; and though the Queen refers to the barons, it is both easy and dramatic to imagine that Edward has Mortimer in mind, especially as (see note to I. iv. 147 above) Marlowe had already defied history, to make Edward accuse Isabella of a liaison with Mortimer. The Queen's reply (l. 225) seems to suggest the explanation here offered.

230. *brave*] presumptuous; see note to I. i. 111 above.

231. *threatens civil wars*] Cf. 1 *Tamburlaine,* 148: 'Begin in troops to threaten civil war.'

238. *Two of my father's servants*] See note to II. i. 2 above.

K. Edw. Tell me, where wast thou born? what is thine arms?

Bald. My name is Baldock, and my gentry
I fetcht from Oxford, not from heraldry.

K. Edw. The fitter art thou, Baldock, for my turn.
Wait on me, and I'll see thou shalt not want.

Bald. I humbly thank your majesty.

K. Edw. Knowest thou him, Gaveston?

Gav. Ay, my lord;
His name is Spencer, he is well allied;
For my sake, let him wait upon your grace;
Scarce shall you find a man of more desert.

K. Edw. Then, Spencer, wait upon me; for his sake
I'll grace thee with a higher style ere long.

Spen. jun. No greater titles happen unto me,
Than to be favoured of your majesty.

K. Edw. Cousin, this day shall be your marriage-feast.
And, Gaveston, think that I love thee well,
To wed thee to our niece, the only heir
Unto the earl of Gloucester late deceased.

Gav. I know, my lord, many will stomach me,
But I respect neither their love nor hate.

K. Edw. The headstrong barons shall not limit me;
He that I list to favour shall be great.
Come, let's away; and when the marriage ends,
Have at the rebels, and their complices. [*Exeunt.*

240. *Tell me* etc.] O, Qq. print as two lines. 242. *fetcht*] this is O reading; Qq. and all edd. to Ver. have *fetch*. 246–7. *Ay . . . allied*] O, Qq. print as one line. 263. S. D.] O, Qq. add *omnes*.

240. *arms*] i.e. coat of arms.

241. *my gentry*] On Baldock's pretensions to significance on the ground of scholarship, see note to II. i. 30 above.

254. *Cousin*] i.e. niece; cf. note to I. i. 123 above.

256. *our niece*] Her father, eighth earl of Gloucester, had married Edward's sister; see note to I. iv. 376 above.

only heir] On this inaccuracy, see note to I. iv. 378 above. Her father was not 'late deceased'; he died in 1295. Her brother succeeded and lived until 1314, when she became co-heir with her two sisters.

258. *stomach*] see note to I. ii. 26 above.

SCENE III

Near Tynemouth Castle

Enter KENT, LANCASTER, MORTIMER *junior*, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, *and* others.

Kent. My lords, of love to this our native land
I come to join with you and leave the king;
And in your quarrel and the realm's behoof
Will be the first that shall adventure life.
Lan. I fear me you are sent of policy,
To undermine us with a show of love.
War. He is your brother, therefore have we cause
To cast the worst, and doubt of your revolt.
Kent. Mine honour shall be hostage of my truth:
If that will not suffice, farewell, my lords.
Mor. jun. Stay, Edmund; never was Plantagenet
False of his word, and therefore trust we thee.
Pem. But what's the reason you should leave him now?
Kent. I have inform'd the earl of Lancaster.
Lan. And it sufficeth. Now, my lords, know this,

Scene iii.

add. Rob. *Near Tynemouth Castle*] add. Dyce. S. D.] *Enter Lancaster, Mortimer, Warwick, Pembrooke, Kent,* O, Qq. 9. S. D. *Kent*] O, Qq. regularly have *Kent* for Kent's speeches, but here they have *Edm.* *shall be*] *should be* Q3.

Scene iii.

5. *policy*] stratagem, craft; a fairly common Elizabethan sense, which occurs thrice in the *Henry VI* trilogy. It occurs again in this play, II. v. 96 *post.*

8. *cast*] anticipate; from the idea of calculating or conjecturing as to the future. The *N.E.D.* cites Eden, *Treat. New Ind.* (1553): 'To caste the worste, yf they should perishe in this viage.'

15. *know this*] There is confusion here. Lancaster has no need to tell the Lords of Gaveston's arrival, of which they all knew; nor was it a secret arrival. To imagine Lancaster to be referring merely to a reunion of the King and Gaveston within the Castle, although in the apparently continuous or almost undivided action of this part of the play, they had never really parted, is to read too much into 'Convey hence Gaveston' (II. ii. 82), which is most easily taken to mean 'take him inside the castle out of harm's way'. Probably Marlowe slips here, because of his alteration of the chronicles, which tell that Gaveston was twice exiled. His return from the first exile (in

That Gaveston is secretly arriv'd,
And here in Tynemouth frolics with the king.
Let us with these our followers scale the walls,
And suddenly surprise them unawares.

Mor. jun. I'll give the onset.

War. And I'll follow thee.

Mor. jun. This tottered ensign of my ancestors,
Which swept the desert shore of that dead sea
Whereof we got the name of Mortimer,
Will I advance upon these castle walls.
Drums, strike alarum, raise them from their sport,
And ring aloud the knell of Gaveston.

Lan. None be so hardy as to touch the king;
But neither spare you Gaveston nor his friends.

[*Exeunt.*

21. *tottered*] *tattered* Dod., A.B.D., Dyce². 24. *these*] *this* O, Qq., followed by all edd. before T. Brooke; T. Brooke has *thes*. *castle*] This is O, Qq. text; Dod.–Ver. have *castle's*. 25. *raise*] Coll. conj. *rouse*. 27. *to*] omit. Qq. 1, 2.

Ireland) was with full consent of the Lords, and the King met him at Chester. As pointed out in the notes to II. ii. S. D. above, Edward is made by Marlowe to meet him at Tynemouth. That is probably due to the fact that when Marlowe decided to omit the second exile (to Flanders) and the second recall, he found in Holinshed (who does not specifically say that the second recall was with the Lords' consent) a statement immediately following the record of the recall that the King (see quotation in note to II. ii. S. D. above) was at Tynemouth with Gaveston.

21. *tottered*] a not uncommon spelling of 'tattered'; so in *Jew of Malta*, IV. v. 6.

23. *the name of Mortimer*] This was not a name connected with crusadings near the Dead Sea, though the etymology given in the text was current in the sixteenth century (see Drayton, *Heroical Epistles*, Mortimer to Queen Isabel). The Mortimers were from Mortemer, a village in Normandy, but an apparently regular Latinization, *de Mortuo Mari*, helped the popular etymology to establish itself.

24. *these castle walls*] Tucker Brooke's suggestion for O, Qq. 'this castle walls', *this* being taken to be a mistake for *thes*. Briggs says the emendation is unnecessary, citing 'their city walls', and 'thy castle walls' (1 *Tamburlaine*, IV. iv. 3, and 2 *Tamburlaine*, III. iii. 31) as accepted usages. They are, however, only partly parallel; they use a possessive whereas the present text has a demonstrative adjective.

SCENE IV

In Tynemouth Castle

Enter severally the KING *and* SPENCER *junior.*

K. Edw. O tell me, Spencer, where is Gaveston?
Spen. I fear me he is slain, my gracious lord.
K. Edw. No, here he comes; now let them spoil and kill.

Enter the QUEEN, *the* KING'S Niece, GAVESTON, *and* Nobles.

Fly, fly, my lords, the earls have got the hold;
Take shipping and away to Scarborough;
Spencer and I will post away by land.
Gav. O stay, my lord, they will not injure you.
K. Edw. I will not trust them, Gaveston; away.
Gav. Farewell, my lord.
K. Edw. Lady, farewell.
Niece. Farewell, sweet uncle, till we meet again.
K. Edw. Farewell, sweet Gaveston, and farewell, niece.
Q. Isab. No farewell to poor Isabel thy queen?
K. Edw. Yes, yes, for Mortimer, your lover's sake.
Q. Isab. Heavens can witness I love none but you:

[*Exeunt all but* QUEEN ISABELLA.

From my embracements thus he breaks away.
O that mine arms could close this isle about,

Scene iv.

add. Rob. *In Tynemouth Castle*] add. Dyce. S. D.] *Enter the king and Spencer, to them Gaueston etc.* O, Qq. 3. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 15. *Heavens*] so in O, Qq.; many mod. edd. have *Heaven*. 15. S. D.] So mod. edd. *Exeunt omnes, manet Isabella* O, Qq.

Scene iv.

5. *away to Scarborough*] The lords 'determined to bee revenged upon him [Gaveston], and to dispatch the realme of such a wicked person; and thereupon assembling their powers togither, came towardes Newcastell, whither the king from Yorke was removed, and now hearing of their approch, he got him to Tynmouth, where the Queene lay, and understanding there that Newcastell was taken by the Lordes, hee leaving the Queene behinde him, took shipping, and sayled from thence with his dearely beloved familiar the Earle of Cornewall, unto Scarbourgh, where he left him in the Castell, and rode himselfe towardes Warwike' (Holinshed, p. 851).

That I might pull him to me where I would;
Or that these tears, that drizzle from mine eyes,
Had power to mollify his stony heart,
That when I had him we might never part.

Enter LANCASTER, WARWICK, MORTIMER *junior, and* others. *Alarums within.*

Lan. I wonder how he scap'd?
Mor. jun. Who's this? the queen!
Q. Isab. Ay, Mortimer, the miserable queen,
Whose pining heart her inward sighs have blasted,
And body with continual mourning wasted;
These hands are tir'd with haling of my lord
From Gaveston, from wicked Gaveston,
And all in vain; for, when I speak him fair,
He turns away, and smiles upon his minion.
Mor. jun. Cease to lament, and tell us where's the king?
Q. Isab. What would you with the king? is't him you seek?
Lan. No, madam, but that cursed Gaveston.
Far be it from the thought of Lancaster
To offer violence to his sovereign.
We would but rid the realm of Gaveston:
Tell us where he remains, and he shall die.
Q. Isab. He's gone by water unto Scarborough;
Pursue him quickly, and he cannot scape;
The king hath left him, and his train is small.
War. Forslow no time; sweet Lancaster, let's march.

21. S. D. *Enter* etc.] *Enter the Barons alarums* O, Qq.

21. S. D. *Barons alarums*] In the O, Qq. text there is no comma between these two words; and Briggs says that Tucker Brooke, inserting one, obscures the fact that Barons is here possessive. Briggs takes 'alarums', therefore, as 'attacks', a sense it may have in sc. v., l. 2 following. It is simpler to follow Brooke, taking 'alarums' in the technical sense common in Elizabethan stage-directions — signals, noises, etc., preluding battle.

40. *Forslow*] waste, lose by sloth. Not uncommon in Elizabethan English in both transitive and intransitive usage.

Mor. jun. How comes it that the king and he is parted?
Q. Isab. That this your army, going several ways,
Might be of lesser force: and with the power
That he intendeth presently to raise,
Be easily suppress'd; and therefore be gone.
Mor. jun. Here in the river rides a Flemish hoy;
Let's all aboard, and follow him amain.
Lan. The wind that bears him hence will fill our sails:
Come, come aboard, 'tis but an hour's sailing.
Mor. jun. Madam, stay you within this castle here.
Q. Isab. No, Mortimer, I'll to my lord the king.
Mor. jun. Nay, rather sail with us to Scarborough.
Q. Isab. You know the king is so suspicious,
As if he hear I have but talk'd with you,
Mine honour will be call'd in question;
And therefore, gentle Mortimer, be gone.
Mor. jun. Madam, I cannot stay to answer you,
But think of Mortimer as he deserves.
[*Exeunt all but the* QUEEN.
Q. Isab. So well hast thou deserv'd, sweet Mortimer,
As Isabel could live with thee for ever.
In vain I look for love at Edward's hand,
Whose eyes are fix'd on none but Gaveston,
Yet once more I'll importune him with prayers:
If he be strange and not regard my words,
My son and I will over into France,
And to the king my brother there complain,
How Gaveston hath robb'd me of his love:
But yet I hope my sorrows will have end,
And Gaveston this blessed day be slain. [*Exit.*

42. *this*] *thus* all edd. but Fleay from Dod. to Ver. 45. *and*] om. Q3 and all edd. to Ver. 58. S. D. *Exeunt . . .*] add. mod. edd. 63. *prayers*] *prayer* Q and all edd. to Ver. 69. S. D. *Exit*] Rob. for O, Qq. *Exeunt.*

46. *Flemish hoy*] Flemings were much occupied in the North Sea fisheries, and many of their names for different sorts of vessels were taken into English. 'Hoy', a small sloop-rigged vessel, is one of these names.

SCENE V

The Open Country

Enter GAVESTON, *pursued.*

Gav. Yet, lusty lords, I have escap'd your hands,
Your threats, your larums, and your hot pursuits;
And though divorced from king Edward's eyes,
Yet liveth Pierce of Gaveston unsurpris'd,
Breathing, in hope (*malgrado* all your beards,
That muster rebels thus against your king),
To see his royal sovereign once again.

Enter WARWICK, LANCASTER, PEMBROKE, MORTIMER *junior*, Soldiers, JAMES, *and other* Attendants *of* Pembroke.

War. Upon him, soldiers, take away his weapons.
Mor. jun. Thou proud disturber of thy country's peace,
Corrupter of thy king, cause of these broils,
Base flatterer, yield! and were it not for shame,
Shame and dishonour to a soldier's name,
Upon my weapon's point here shouldst thou fall,
And welter in thy gore.
Lan. Monster of men!
That, like the Greekish strumpet, train'd to arms

Scene v.

add. Rob. *The Open Country*] conj. Dyce. 5. *your*] Q misprints *you*. 7. *see*] Q misprints *these*. S. D. *Enter Warwick* etc.] *Enter the Nobles* O, Qq. 14–16. *Monster . . . knights*] In O, Qq. these three lines are arranged to end *strumpet, wars, knights*.

Scene v.

5. *malgrado*] in spite of, an Italian word: Greene, *Orl. Fur.*, v. 2, has 'Malgrado of his honour'.

15. *Greekish strumpet*] Helen. *Greekish* is the early English form of the adjective, and was the commoner form in the sixteenth century; in the seventeenth, it was replaced by *Greek*.

train'd] decoyed, enticed. The *N.E.D.* marks this as the most frequent early sense, citing Barbour's *Bruce* for its first occurrence. It suggests that this meaning is possibly due to the influence of the existence of two early English substantives *train*, one whose meaning still survives, and the other, occurring as early as 1400, which was derived from O.F. traïne, meaning 'guile', 'treachery'. The use of *train* for snare, trap, is common in the sixteenth century: cf. *Jew of Malta*, v. v. 91: 'This train he laid to have entrapp'd thy life.'

And bloody wars so many valiant knights;
Look for no other fortune, wretch, than death.
Kind Edward is not here to buckler thee.
War. Lancaster, why talkst thou to the slave?
Go, soldiers, take him hence, for, by my sword,
His head shall off: Gaveston, short warning
Shall serve thy turn: it is our country's cause,
That here severely we will execute
Upon thy person. Hang him at a bough.
Gav. My lord!—
War. Soldiers, have him away;
But for thou wert the favourite of a king,
Thou shalt have so much honour at our hands.
Gav. I thank you all, my lords: then I perceive,
That heading is one, and hanging is the other,
And death is all.

Enter EARL *of* ARUNDEL.

Lan. How now, my lord of Arundel?
Arun. My lords, king Edward greets you all by me.
War. Arundel, say your message.
Arun. His majesty,
Hearing that you had taken Gaveston,
Entreateth you by me, yet but he may
See him before he dies; for why, he says,
And sends you word, he knows that die he shall;
And if you gratify his grace so far,
He will be mindful of the courtesy.

18. *Kind*] So O; but Qq. and mod. edd. before T. Brooke have *King*. 20–22. *Go* etc.] O, Qq. make these three lines into four, ending *hence, off, turn, cause.* 24. *at*] *upon* Dod. 25. *lord*] *lords* Dod. to Fleay, except Dyce. 34–35. *His majesty* etc.] O, Qq. print *His majesty . . . Gaveston* as one line. 35. *that*] omit. Cunn., Wag., Pink. 36. *yet but*] *but that* Dod.–Rob., Cunn., Pink.

18. *Kind*] Editors have generally preferred the Q reading *King*: but the O text adds scorn to Lancaster's denunciation.

28. *so much honour*] i.e. a gentleman's execution by beheading, and not a felon's, by hanging. Gaveston feared that he was to die 'at a bough', by hanging; but once assured of the nobler mode, he adds cynically that ultimately they amount to the same, 'death is all'.

37. *for why*] because.

War. How now?
Gav. Renowmed Edward, how thy name
Revives poor Gaveston.
War. No, it needeth not;
Arundel, we will gratify the king
In other matters; he must pardon us in this.
Soldiers, away with him.
Gav. Why, my lord of Warwick,
Will not these delays beget my hopes?
I know it, lords, it is this life you aim at;
Yet grant King Edward this.
Mor. jun. Shalt thou appoint
What we shall grant? Soldiers, away with him:
Thus we'll gratify the king,
We'll send his head by thee; let him bestow
His tears on that, for that is all he gets
Of Gaveston, or else his senseless trunk.
Lan. Not so, my lord, lest he bestow more cost
In burying him than he hath ever earned.
Arun. My lords, it is his majesty's request,
And in the honour of a king he swears,
He will but talk with him, and send him back.

41. *Renowmed*] so O, Q; Q2 and mod. edd. have *Renowned*. 47. *Will . . . hopes*] This is the text of all early edd. Dod. changed to *Will these delays beget me any hopes* and was followed by edd. to Rob. Dyce reads *Will now these short delays* etc. 49–50. *Shalt . . . him*] O, Qq. divide these two lines at *grant*. 51. *Thus we'll*] *Thus far we will*, Fleay. 55. *lord*] *lords* Reed, A.B.D., Coll., Rob., Cunn., Wag., Fleay–Ver. 58. *in*] *on* Dod.–Dyce[1].

41. *Renowmed*] O and Q preserve this original form of the word, from O.F. *renommé*, which also gave a substantive *renowm* (see l. 72 below). This assimilated to the other substantive from *renoun* from O.F. *renon*, and *renowned* became the prevailing English form. But *renowmed* is common in Elizabethan English. The form is constant in Spenser for verb and noun: cf. *F. Q.* III. iii. 23, 27 and xi. 19.

47. *Will not* etc.] The metrical awkwardness of this line has prompted many emendations. But the original text need not be altered: its sense is interpreted by Tancock as follows: 'Gaveston scarcely restrains his scorn for Warwick and puts the question to him sarcastically; then turns seriously to the other lords and assures them that he has no "hopes" of life, yet still, certain as death is, this small favour might be granted.'

War. When, can you tell? Arundel, no; we wot,
He that the care of realm remits,
And drives his nobles to these exigents
For Gaveston, will, if he sees him once,
Violate any promise to possess him.
Arun. Then if you will not trust his grace in keep,
My lords, I will be pledge for his return.
Mor. jun. It is honourable in thee to offer this;
But for we know thou art a noble gentleman,
We will not wrong thee so, to make away
A true man for a thief.
Gav. How mean'st thou, Mortimer? that is over-base.
Mor. jun. Away, base groom, robber of king's renowm.
Question with thy companions and thy mates.
Pem. My lord Mortimer, and you, my lords, each one,
To gratify the king's request therein,
Touching the sending of this Gaveston,
Because his majesty so earnestly
Desires to see the man before his death,
I will upon mine honour undertake
To carry him, and bring him back again;
Provided this, that you my lord of Arundel
Will join with me.
War. Pembroke, what wilt thou do?
Cause yet more bloodshed: is it not enough

61. *He that* etc.] Qq. 2, 3 mangle this line: '*He that hath the care of Realme-remits*'; mod. edd. from Dod. to Ver., except Fleay, improve the metre of the original by inserting *his* before *realm*. Fleay inserts *kingly* before *realm*. 63. *sees*] O has *zease*, Qq. 1, 2, *seaze*. Most mod. edd. follow Cunn., *sees*, but a few have *seize*. 65. *in keep*] omit. Dod. 67. *It is*] *'Tis*, Dyce–Ver. 69. *We will* etc.] O ends the line at *so*, and begins the next one *To make* etc. 73. *thy mates*] *thy* omit. Qq. 1–3, followed by Dyce to Ver. 79. *mine*] *my* Qq. 2, 3.

61. *remits*] abandons, gives up.

63. *sees*] The King has specifically asked to *see* Gaveston; so we take the OQ *seize* to be a misprint easily explicable. Moreover, if *seize* be accepted in this line, the point of *possess* in the following line is diminished.

65. *in keep*] in custody: Briggs aptly compares *Taming of the Shrew*, I. ii. 118: 'For in Baptista's keep my treasure is.'

72. *renowm*] See note to l. 41 above.

That we have taken him, but must we now
Leave him on 'had I wist,' and let him go?

Pem. My lords, I will not over-woo your honours,
But if you dare trust Pembroke with the prisoner,
Upon mine oath, I will return him back.

Arun. My lord of Lancaster, what say you in this?

Lan. Why, I say, let him go on Pembroke's word.

Pem. And you, lord Mortimer?

Mor. jun. How say you, my lord of Warwick?

War. Nay, do your pleasures, I know how 'twill prove.

Pem. Then give him me.

Gav. Sweet sovereign, yet I come
To see thee ere I die.

War. Yet not perhaps,
If Warwick's wit and policy prevail. [*Aside.*

Mor. jun. My lord of Pembroke, we deliver him you;
Return him on your honour. Sound, away!

[*Exeunt all except* PEMBROKE, ARUNDEL, GAVESTON, JAMES, *and other* Attendants *of* PEMBROKE.

93. *Nay . . . prove*] O, Qq. etc. print as two lines, *pleasures* ending the first. 96. S. D. *Aside*] add. Dyce. 98. S. D. *Exeunt* etc.] *Exeunt. Manent Penbrooke, Mat. Gavest. and Penbrookes men, foure souldiers* O, Qq. For *Mat.* see note below.

85. '*had I wist*'] if I had but known. 'A common exclamation of one who repents too late. Spenser, *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, 893; *London Prodigal*, III. i. 49; *Two Angry Women*, iv. 3. M.E. *hadde I wist*: "Upon his fortune and his grace Comth 'Hadde I wist' ful ofte a place", Gower (C.A. i. 1888)', Skeat and Mayhew, *Tudor and Stuart Glossary*.

98. S. D. *Exeunt* etc.] 'There is serious confusion over the Earl of Arundel. His entry is duly marked at II. v. 31, he is repeatedly addressed by name, and his prefixes (*Arun.*) are quite in order as far as the exit of the lords at II. v. 98. In the direction that follows [i.e. at II. v. 98], however, it is clearly he who is indicated by the abbreviation *Mat.*, and his speech at l. 104 below has this for prefix. Subsequently we find *Mat.* or *Matr.* as a prefix or in directions (III. ii. 90, 94, 103, 115, and IV. iii. S. D. and 9) and *Matre.* once in a direction and actually twice in the text (III. ii. 88, 89, 92), but here *Arundell* also once occurs (IV. iii. 7). Although the name is nowhere given in full as Matrevis, there can be little doubt that this is in fact what is intended, and if so it is hardly possible to avoid the inference (made by Dyce) that the confusion arose owing to the parts of Arundel and Matrevis having been taken by the same actor. From this, as from some [other] textual irregularities . . . it would follow that the piece was printed from a playhouse MS., and also apparently that this had undergone some kind of revision for the stage' (W. W. Greg, *Edward II* (Malone Soc. Ed.)).

Pem. My lord, you shall go with me.
My house is not far hence, out of the way
A little, but our men shall go along.
We that have pretty wenches to our wives,
Sir, must not come so near and baulk their lips.
Arun. 'Tis very kindly spoke, my lord of Pembroke;
Your honour hath an adamant of power
To draw a prince.
Pem. So, my lord. Come hither, James:
I do commit this Gaveston to thee,
Be thou this night his keeper; in the morning
We will discharge thee of thy charge: be gone.
Gav. Unhappy Gaveston, whither goest thou now?
[*Exit* PEMBROKE *with his* Men.
Horse-boy. My lord, we'll quickly be at Cobham. [*Exeunt.*

103. *and*] So O; Qq. and edd. to Ver. have *to*. 104. S. D. *Arun.*] In O, Qq. this is given to *Mat.* See note to l. 98 above. 110. S. D. *Exit* etc.] So Fleay, *Exit cum seruis Pen.* O, Qq. see note below. 111. S. D. *Exeunt*] *Exeunt ambo.* O, Qq.

99. *My lord*] Dyce, followed by Cunn., and Bull., adds 'of Arundel'.

102. *We that* etc.] The hint for this is in Holinshed: 'whilest he for one night went to visit his wife, lieng not farre from thence.'

105. *adamant*] magnet, loadstone. The word is a doublet of *diamond*. For sense of *magnet*, cf. Webster, ed. Hazlitt, ii. 21, *Vitt. Cor.*, I. ii.: 'You are the adamant shall draw her to you.'

110. S. D. *Exit* etc.] O has *Exit cum seruis Pen.* which Bullen and most modern edd. take to mean 'Exit (Gaveston) with James and Pembroke's men'. Fleay has 'Exit Pembroke with his men', leaving Gaveston on the stage to be addressed by the Horse-boy. Fleay's version is at least a correct translation. It involves leaving Gaveston alone on the stage with only the horse-boy, and that is not a very adequate guard. But we need not imagine that James, the appointed guard, has withdrawn very far. In O the horse-boy's line is followed by a direction *Exeunt ambo*—and the two must be Gaveston and the boy. But the point is not very important: the withdrawal of all the characters, though the directions are separated by a line, was presumably the sort of processional withdrawal most suited to the deep Elizabethan stage.

111. *Cobham*] a village in Kent near Gravesend, and so quite ungeographically introduced here, as no part of the preceding nor succeeding action is in that region.

ACT III

SCENE I

The Open Country

Enter GAVESTON *mourning,* JAMES, *and other* Attendants *of* Pembroke.

Gav. O treacherous Warwick, thus to wrong thy friend.
James. I see it is your life these arms pursue.
Gav. Weaponless must I fall, and die in bands?
O, must this day be period of my life?
Centre of all my bliss! An ye be men,
Speed to the king.

Enter WARWICK *and* Soldiers.

War. My lord of Pembroke's men,
Strive you no longer; I will have that Gaveston.
James. Your lordship doth dishonour to yourself,
And wrong our lord, your honourable friend.
War. No, James, it is my country's cause I follow.
Go, take the villain; soldiers, come away.

Act III. Scene i.

add. Rob. *The Open Country*] sugg. by Dyce. S. D. *James* etc.] *and the earle of Penbrookes men* O, Qq. 5. *all*] omit. Qq. 2, 3. *An*] Dyce's alteration of earlier *and*. 6. S. D. *and Soldiers*] *and his companie* O, Qq. 7. *longer*] *more* Dod. to Rob. 8. *doth*] *does* Bull., Ell., Ver.

Act III. Scene i.

3. *bands*] bonds, as in *The Tempest*, Epilogue, l. 9.

5. *Centre*] The middle of the earth, which was supposed to be the fixed centre of the universe. Gaveston seems to be using the word as an ironical apostrophe to 'this day' which was to have been the firm centre of his bliss, and is now proving the period or end of his life. Cf. Webster, *Appius and Virginia*, I. iii.: '*App.* May I trust thee? *Marcus.* As the firm centre to endure the burden Of your light foot.' Briggs prefers McLaughlin's explanation: he takes 'centre' for the middle of the earth, but therefore the lowest spot for falling, as in Wiclif, 'As the centre is the lowest of all things'.

An] if. This was usually printed *and*, as in early edd. of this text.

We'll make quick work. Commend me to your master,
My friend, and tell him that I watch'd it well.
Come, let thy shadow parley with King Edward.

Gav. Treacherous earl, shall I not see the king?

War. The king of heaven perhaps, no other king.
Away!

[*Exeunt* WARWICK *and* Soldiers *with* GAVESTON.

James. Come, fellows, it booted not for us to strive,
We will in haste go certify our lord. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II

Near Boroughbridge, in Yorkshire

Enter the KING *and* SPENCER *junior*, BALDOCK, *and* Nobles *of the* King's side, *and* Soldiers *with drums and fifes.*

K. Edw. I long to hear an answer from the barons
Touching my friend, my dearest Gaveston.
Ah! Spencer, not the riches of my realm
Can ransom him; ah, he is mark'd to die.
I know the malice of the younger Mortimer,
Warwick I know is rough, and Lancaster
Inexorable, and I shall never see
My lovely Pierce, my Gaveston again!
The barons overbear me with their pride.

Spen. jun. Were I king Edward, England's sovereign,

15. *I not*] *not I* Q–A.B.D., Dyce, Fleay. 17. S. D.] *Exeunt Warwike and his men, with Gavest. Manet Iames cum cæteris* O, Qq. 18. *booted*] *booteth* Q2–Rob.

Scene ii.

add. Rob. *In Yorkshire*] suggested by Dyce. S. D.] *Enter king Edward and Spencer, with Drummes and Fifes* O, Qq. 8. *my Gaveston*] so O; Q has *of Gaveston*, and is followed by edd. to Ver.

13. *My friend*] with slight irony, taking up James's description of the relation between Warwick and Pembroke in l. 9 above.
watch'd it] watched, the *it* being redundant, as in 'feast it'.
14. *shadow*] shade, ghost.
19. *certify*] inform; cf. *certiorem facere*.

Son to the lovely Eleanor of Spain,
Great Edward Longshanks' issue, would I bear
These braves, this rage, and suffer uncontroll'd
These barons thus to beard me in my land,
In mine own realm? My lord, pardon my speech:
Did you retain your father's magnanimity,
Did you regard the honour of your name,
You would not suffer thus your majesty
Be counterbuft of your nobility.
Strike off their heads, and let them preach on poles.
No doubt, such lessons they will teach the rest,
As by their preachments they will profit much,
And learn obedience to their lawful king.

K. Edw. Yea, gentle Spencer, we have been too mild,
Too kind to them; but now have drawn our sword,
And if they send me not my Gaveston,
We'll steel it on their crest, and poll their tops.

Bald. This haught resolve becomes your majesty,

12. *Edward*] mispr. *Edwards* Q. *haught*] *high* Dod., Ox. 20. *preach*] *perch* Dod. 28.

Scene ii.

12. *Longshanks*] Edward I acquired this nickname amongst his contemporaries from the length of his legs. The chroniclers handed it on to posterity, e.g., Fabyan cites a Scots rhyme beginning 'What wenys kynge Edwarde, with his longe shankys'.

13. *braves*] insults, tricks of bravado: cf. Greene, *Blacke Bookes Messenger*, B2: 'such as heard mee, rather trembled at mine oathes, than feared my braves'.

16. *magnanimity*] high-souled courage. 'The word is used rather of the haughty courage of a man superior to all control, than in the modern sense of one who exercises a lofty spirit of forgiveness' (Tancock). Cf. *3 Henry VI*, v. iv. 41, and Spenser, *F. Q.*, III. xi. 19, II. viii. 23.

19. *counterbuft*] struck so hard as to cause to recoil; cf. Nashe, *Have with you*, 33: 'To counterbuffe and beate backe all those overthwart blowes wherewith you have charged me'.

22. *preachments*] sermons; a not uncommon word from the fourteenth century, and frequently with a contemptuous suggestion. Watson, *Decacordon* (1602), talks of Knox's preachment, and Warner, *Albion's England* (1602), is cited in *N.E.D.*: 'Making teadious Preachments of no edifying powre'.

27. *steel it*] use steel, strike with sword, the *it* being redundant as in III. i. 13 above.

poll their tops] cut off their heads, as the tops of trees are lopped off. Cf. Queen Eliz. in Harington's *Nugae Antiquae*, 1769, I. 59: 'My rustie sworde . . . Shall firste his edge imploy, To poll the toppes that seek such change', etc.

28. *haught*] lofty. The word is a doublet of 'haughty', from F. *haut*, high.

Not to be tied to their affection,
As though your highness were a schoolboy still,
And must be aw'd and govern'd like a child.

Enter SPENCER *senior with his truncheon and* Soldiers.

Spen. sen. Long live my sovereign, the noble Edward,
In peace triumphant, fortunate in wars!
K. Edw. Welcome, old man, com'st thou in Edward's aid?
Then tell thy prince of whence, and what thou art.
Spen. sen. Lo, with a band of bowmen and of pikes,
Brown bills and targeteers, four hundred strong,
Sworn to defend king Edward's royal right,
I come in person to your majesty,
Spencer, the father of Hugh Spencer there,
Bound to your highness everlastingly,
For favours done, in him, unto us all.
K. Edw. Thy father, Spencer?
Spen. jun. True, an it like your grace,
That pours, in lieu of all your goodness shown,
His life, my lord, before your princely feet.
K. Edw. Welcome ten thousand times, old man, again.
Spencer, this love, this kindness to thy king,
Argues thy noble mind and disposition.
Spencer, I here create thee earl of Wiltshire,

29. *Not*] *You ought not*, Dod., Reed, A.B.D., Coll. 32. S. D. *Enter Spencer senior*] *Enter* Hugh Spencer *an old man, father to the yong* Spencer, O, Qq. 35. *thy*] so O. Qq.–Rob. have *the*. 42. *favours*] so O; *favour* Qq. and all edd. to Ver. 43. *an*] *and* all edd. to Dyce.

29. *affection*] whatever they should affect, or desire. The *N.E.D.* gives no authority for taking it, as Briggs does, for 'caprice'.

30. *As though* etc.] See Introduction for the parallelism with *2 Henry VI*, p. 13.

37. *Brown bills*] halberds bronzed, as was the custom, to prevent rust.

targeteers] foot-soldiers armed with a target; the *N.E.D.* quotes Holland's *Livy* (1600), xxviii. v. 670: 'A thousand targuattiers called Peltati'.

43. *an*] if. See note on III. i. 5 above.

49. *earl of Wiltshire*] Young Spencer, who is here addressed, was not in fact created Earl of Wiltshire. The elder Spencer, though here represented as unknown to the King, was really well known to him, and in 1322, after the battle of Boroughbridge, was to be made Earl of Winchester. As to Marlowe's invention of a title for the

And daily will enrich thee with our favour,
That, as the sunshine, shall reflect o'er thee.
Beside, the more to manifest our love,
Because we hear Lord Bruce doth sell his land,
And that the Mortimers are in hand withal,
Thou shalt have crowns of us t' outbid the barons:
And, Spencer, spare them not, but lay it on.
Soldiers, a largess, and thrice welcome all.

Spen. jun. My lord, here comes the queen.

Enter the QUEEN, PRINCE EDWARD, *and* LEVUNE, *a* Frenchman.

K. Edw. Madam, what news?

Q. Isab. News of dishonour, lord, and discontent.
Our friend Levune, faithful and full of trust,
Informeth us, by letters and by words,
That lord Valois our brother, king of France,
Because your highness hath been slack in homage,

52. *Beside*] *Besides* Dod. to Rob. 56. *but*] so O; omit. Qq.–Dyce[2] and most edd. to Ver.; for *but* Wag. has *no*. 58. *comes*] *come* Q1. 58. S. D. *Prince Edward*] *and her sonne* O, Qq. *Levune*] spelt variously throughout in Qq. *Lewne, Levvne, Lewen*. 62. *lord*] omit. Dod.–Rob.

son, Tancock notes: 'it is possible that, since in Marlowe's time, as now, the eldest son of the Marquess of Winchester bore the title of Earl of Wiltshire, Marlowe antedated the connexion between the titles purposely.'

53. *Lord Bruce doth sell*, etc.] His real name appears to have been William de Braose (Tout, *Place of Ed. II in English Hist.*, pp. 140–1). See Holinshed, p. 858: 'About this season [1321], the L. William de Bruce that in the marches of Wales enioyed divers fair possessions to him discended from his ancetors [sic], but through want of good government was run behind hand, offred to sel a certaine portion of his lands . . . unto diverse noble men that had their lands adioyning to the same, as to the Earle of Hereforde, and to the two Lorde Mortimers, the uncle and nephew. . . . But at length (as unhap would) Hugh Spenser the yonger Lord Chamberlaine, coueting that land (bycause it lay nere on eche side to other lands that he had in those parties) found such meanes through the Kings furtherance and helpe, that he went away with the purchase, to the great displeasure of the other Lordes that had bene in hande to buie it.'

54. *in hand*] See the last phrase in the quotation from Holinshed above. *In hand*, meaning 'in process', is as old as Chaucer; cf. *Reeve's Tale*, 115: 'What wol ye doon whil that it is in hande?'

Hath seized Normandy into his hands.
These be the letters, this the messenger.
K. Edw. Welcome, Levune. Tush, Sib, if this be all,
Valois and I will soon be friends again.
But to my Gaveston; shall I never see,
Never behold thee now? Madam, in this matter,
We will employ you and your little son;
You shall go parley with the king of France.
Boy, see you bear you bravely to the king,
And do your message with a majesty.
P. Edw. Commit not to my youth things of more weight
Than fits a prince so young as I to bear,
And fear not, lord and father, heaven's great beams
On Atlas' shoulder shall not lie more safe,
Than shall your charge committed to my trust.
Q. Isab. Ah, boy! this towardness makes thy mother fear
Thou art not mark'd to many days on earth.
K. Edw. Madam, we will that you with speed be shipp'd,
And this our son; Levune shall follow you
With all the haste we can despatch him hence.
Choose of our lords to bear you company;
And go in peace, leave us in wars at home.

69. *now*] *more*, Dod.–Rob., Cunn., Fleay. 75. *fits*] *suits* Ox., Rob.

64. *seized Normandy*] According to Holinshed, it was not Normandy, but 'diverse townes and castels in Aquitaine' which the French king seized, 'alledging that he did it for the contumacie shewed by the King of England, in refusing to come to doo his homage'. The King of England had been summoned to do homage for his holding of Ponthieu and Guienne.

66. *Sib*] literally, kinswoman, but here, wife. The word is common to all Germanic languages in the sense of kinship or kinsman.

70. *We will employ you*, etc.] 'Finally it was thought good that the Quene should goe over to hir brother the Frēch K. to confirme ye treatie of peace upō some reasonable conditiōs. She willingly tooke uppon her the charge. . . . Upon all which couenauntes the French King wrote his letters patentes into Englande, and other letters also of safe conduite, as well for the sonne, as for the Kyng hymselfe, if it shoulde please hym to come over hymselfe in person . . . it was fully determined that the Kynges eldest sonne Edwarde shoulde goe ouer' (Holinshed, p. 875). This embassy was in 1325, the Queen going first, and being joined later by the prince; the quarrel with France had broken out in 1322, and Gaveston, still alive in the play, was executed in 1312.

Q. Isab. Unnatural wars, where subjects brave their king;
God end them once! My lord, I take my leave,
To make my preparation for France.
[*Exit with* PRINCE EDWARD.

Enter ARUNDEL.

K. Edw. What, lord Arundel, dost thou come alone?
Arun. Yea, my good lord, for Gaveston is dead.
K. Edw. Ah, traitors! have they put my friend to death?
Tell me, Arundel, died he ere thou cam'st,
Or didst thou see my friend to take his death?
Arun. Neither, my lord; for as he was surpris'd,
Begirt with weapons and with enemies round,
I did your highness' message to them all;
Demanding him of them, entreating rather,
And said, upon the honour of my name,
That I would undertake to carry him
Unto your highness, and to bring him back.
K. Edw. And tell me, would the rebels deny me that?
Spen. jun. Proud recreants.
K. Edw. Yea, Spencer, traitors all.
Arun. I found them at the first inexorable;
The Earl of Warwick would not bide the hearing,
Mortimer hardly; Pembroke and Lancaster
Spake least: and when they flatly had denied,
Refusing to receive me pledge for him,
The earl of Pembroke mildly thus bespake;
'My lords, because our sovereign sends for him,
And promiseth he shall be safe return'd,
I will this undertake, to have him hence,
And see him re-delivered to your hands.'

88. S. D. *Exit* etc.] add. Dyce. *Enter Arundel*] *Enter lord Matre.* O, Qq.; *Arundel*, Dyce, and so with speech-allocations through the scene. 89. *Arundel*] Dyce, for O, Qq. *Matre.* and generally in text of this scene. 90. *Yea*] O, Q; *Yes* Qq. 2, 3. 106. *Spake*] so O; *Speake* Qq. 1, 2. 107. *me*] *my* Q3.

K. Edw. Well, and how fortunes that he came not?
Spen. jun. Some treason, or some villainy, was cause.
Arun. The Earl of Warwick seiz'd him on his way;
For being delivered unto Pembroke's men,
Their lord rode home thinking his prisoner safe;
But ere he came, Warwick in ambush lay,
And bare him to his death; and in a trench
Strake off his head, and march'd unto the camp.
Spen. jun. A bloody part, flatly against law of arms.
K. Edw. O shall I speak, or shall I sigh and die!
Spen. jun. My lord, refer your vengeance to the sword
Upon these barons; hearten up your men;
Let them not unreveng'd murther your friends!
Advance your standard, Edward, in the field,
And march to fire them from their starting holes.
K. Edw. [*kneeling*]. By earth, the common mother of us all,
By heaven, and all the moving orbs thereof,
By this right hand, and by my father's sword,
And all the honours longing to my crown,
I will have heads, and lives for him, as many
As I have manors, castles, towns, and towers.
[*Rises.*
Treacherous Warwick! traitorous Mortimer!
If I be England's king, in lakes of gore
Your headless trunks, your bodies will I trail,
That you may drink your fill, and quaff in blood,
And stain my royal standard with the same,
That so my bloody colours may suggest
Remembrance of revenge immortally

113. *fortunes*] *fortunes it*, Dyce, Cunn., Bull., Wag., Ell. *not*] *not then* Fleay. 114. *cause*] *the cause* Dod.–Rob., Cunn. and most edd. to Ver. 120. *Strake*] *Stroke* Qq. 2, 3; *Struck* Dod.–Rob. 121. *against*] *'gainst* Q3–Ver. 128. S. D. *kneeling*] *Edward kneeles, and saith* O, Qq. 133. S. D. *Rises*] add. Dyce.

127. *fire them* etc.] i.e. as hunted animals are smoked from their starting-holes, i.e. the holes in which they have taken refuge. For 'starting-hole', the earliest example in the *N.E.D.* is Palsgrave (1530): 'Stertyng hole, ung tapynet, lieu de refuge.'

On your accursed traitorous progeny,
You villains, that have slain my Gaveston.
And in this place of honour and of trust,
Spencer, sweet Spencer, I adopt thee here:
And merely of our love we do create thee
Earl of Gloucester, and Lord Chamberlain,
Despite of times, despite of enemies.

Spen. jun. My lord, here's a messenger from the barons
Desires access unto your majesty.

K. Edw. Admit him near.

Enter the Herald, *with his coat of arms.*

Her. Long live king Edward, England's lawful lord.

K. Edw. So wish not they, I wis, that sent thee hither.
Thou comst from Mortimer and his complices,
A ranker rout of rebels never was.
Well, say thy message.

Her. The barons up in arms by me salute
Your highness with long life and happiness;
And bid me say, as plainer to your grace,
That if without effusion of blood
You will this grief have ease and remedy,
That from your princely person you remove
This Spencer, as a putrifying branch,
That deads the royal vine, whose golden leaves

143. *this*] *his* Cunn., Fleay, Bull., Tan. 148. *here's*] *heres is* O, Q; *heers* Qq. 2, 3, Dod., Ox., Rob., Dyce[2], Ell., Ver.; *here is* Reed, Coll., Dyce[1], Bull. 150. S. D.] after *Herald* O, Qq. add *from the Barons.* 153. *complices*] *accomplices* Dod.–Rob. 160. *this grief*] *of this grief* Q3, Ox. 163. *leaves*] *leave* Q (in B.M. copy, but Bodl. copy *leaves*).

146. *Earl of Gloucester*] See notes on *dramatis personæ.*

152. *I wis*] The form, as if a pronoun and a verb, is due to confusion. The origin of the phrase is M.E. *ywis*, A.S. *gewis*, 'certainly': but it was taken to be part of the verb 'to wit', *I wit*, 'I know'.

158. *plainer*] a legal term for 'complainant', now obsolete, but cited by the *N.E.D.* as early as 1340.

163. *deads*] kills. The word was used in this sense until the seventeenth century. *N.E.D.* cites 1591, Spenser, *Tears of the Muses*, 210, 'with whom all joy and jolly merriment is also deaded', and 1594, Nashe, *Unfort. Trav.*, 52, 'yet were they not utterly deaded'.

royal vine] According to Boutell's *Heraldry*, the leaves on the royal crown in use in England up to the time of Henry IV were not vine-

Empale your princely head, your diadem,
Whose brightness such pernicious upstarts dim,
Say they; and lovingly advise your grace,
To cherish virtue and nobility,
And have old servitors in high esteem,
And shake off smooth dissembling flatterers:
This granted, they, their honours, and their lives,
Are to your highness vow'd and consecrate.

Spen. jun. Ah, traitors! will they still display their pride?

K. Edw. Away, tarry no answer, but be gone.
Rebels, will they appoint their sovereign
His sports, his pleasures, and his company?
Yet, ere thou go, see how I do divorce
[*Embraces* SPENCER
Spencer from me. Now get thee to thy lords,
And tell them I will come to chastise them
For murthering Gaveston; hie thee, get thee gone.
Edward with fire and sword follows at thy heels.
[*Exit* Herald.
My lord, perceive you how these rebels swell?
Soldiers, good hearts, defend your sovereign's right,
For now, even now, we march to make them stoop.
Away! [*Exeunt. Alarums, excursions, a great fight, and a retreat sounded, within.*

176. S. D. *Embraces*] *Embrace* O. 180. S. D. *Exit* . . .] add. Dyce. 181. *lord*] *lords* Dyce–Wag., Fleay, Bull., Ell. 184. S. D. *sounded, within*] add. mod. edd.

leaves, but conventional strawberry leaves.

165. *such pernicious upstarts*] '. . . if they [the lords] might finde shift to remove frō him the two Spencers, Hugh the father, and Hugh the sonne, who were gotten into such favor with him, that they onely did all things, and without them nothing was done, so that they were now had in as great hatred and indignation, both of the Lordes and cōmons, as ever in tymes past was Peeres de Gaueston. . . . But the Lords minded not so much the destruction of these Spencers, but that the King ment as much their aduauncement, so that Hugh the son was made high Chamberlain of Englande, contrarie to the mind of all the noble men, by reason whereof hee bare himselfe so hautie and proude, that no Lorde wythin the lande myght agayne say that which in hys conceyte seemed good' (Holinshed, p. 858).

176. S. D. *Embraces*] The imperative form *Embrace* in the earliest edition, may indicate that the copy sent to the printer was the theatre prompt copy.

SCENE III

The battle-field, Boroughbridge

Enter the KING, SPENCER *senior*, SPENCER *junior, and* Noblemen *of the King's side.*

K. Edw. Why do we sound retreat? upon them, lords!
This day I shall pour vengeance with my sword
On those proud rebels that are up in arms,
And do confront and countermand their king.
Spen. jun. I doubt it not, my lord, right will prevail.
Spen. sen. 'Tis not amiss, my liege, for either part
To breathe awhile; our men, with sweat and dust
All chok'd well near, begin to faint for heat;
And this retire refresheth horse and man.
Spen. jun. Here come the rebels.

Enter MORTIMER *junior*, LANCASTER, WARWICK, PEMBROKE, *and* others.

Scene iii.

add. Rob. *The battle-field, Boroughbridge*] add. Dyce.

Scene iii.

S. D. *The battle-field, Boroughbridge*] 'Marlowe has passed over the troubles of 1320–1; the success of the Barons and the exile of the Despensers; the King's recovery of power; and the restoration of the favourites. In representing the outbreak of 1321–2, he condenses all into one rising, and one battle, which is evidently Boroughbridge in Yorkshire, fought on March 16, 1322. The real history is as follows: the King in October 1321 recovered influence, and determined to attack the Barons of the Welsh March who had joined in the attack on the Despensers, and had been pardoned Aug. 20. He was successful during the winter, for the Mortimers yielded near Bridgnorth at the end of January 1322; in February he recalled the Despensers. Lancaster and his confederates marched southward, but came no further than Burton-on-Trent, and then retreated. The King took Kenilworth and Tutbury Castles. Sir Andrew Harclay gained for him the battle of Boroughbridge, March 16, in which the Earl of Hereford was killed, and Lancaster was taken. The prisoners were brought to the King at Pomfret, but he had not been in the battle as here represented' (Tancock).

1. *retreat*] Briggs thinks that the temporary set-back indicated here as part of the battle of Boroughbridge is an echo remaining from Marlowe's condensation of events. In the earlier battle at Burton-on-Trent, the King, before his final victory, had been repeatedly unsuccessful in forcing the passage of the river.

9. *retire*] For the substantival use, cf. Milton, *Par. Lost*, xi. 297:

'Discovered soon the place of her
retire.'

Mor. jun. Look, Lancaster, yonder is Edward
Among his flatterers.
Lan. And there let him be
Till he pay dearly for their company.
War. And shall, or Warwick's sword shall smite in vain.
K. Edw. What, rebels, do you shrink and sound retreat?
Mor. jun. No, Edward, no, thy flatterers faint and fly.
Lan. They'd best betimes forsake thee, and their trains,
For they'll betray thee, traitors as they are.
Spen. jun. Traitor on thy face, rebellious Lancaster!
Pem. Away, base upstart, brav'st thou nobles thus?
Spen. sen. A noble attempt, and honourable deed,
Is it not, trow ye, to assemble aid,
And levy arms against your lawful king?
K. Edw. For which ere long their heads shall satisfy,
T' appease the wrath of their offended king.
Mor. jun. Then, Edward, thou wilt fight it to the last,
And rather bathe thy sword in subjects' blood,
Than banish that pernicious company.
K. Edw. Ay, traitors all, rather than thus be brav'd,
Make England's civil towns huge heaps of stones,
And ploughs to go about our palace-gates.
War. A desperate and unnatural resolution.
Alarum! to the fight! St. George for England,
And the barons' right.

11–13. *Look, . . . company*] O, Qq. print as two lines ending *flatterers, company*. Dod.–Rob. try to regularize the metre by reading *yonder's* and *'mong*. 17. *They'd*] O, Qq. have *Th'ad* which most edd. take to be *They'd*, but T. Brooke believes it to represent *Thou had*; this seems to fit better with the following line, but it requires T. Brooke's emendation of *thee* in l. 17 to *them*, where O, Qq. all have *thee*. 22. *Is it*] *It is* Q1. 25. *T' Appease*] so all early edd. Dod., followed by most edd. to Ver., has *To appease*. 26. *wilt*] *will* Q1.

20. *Pembroke*] Tancock points out that in fact Pembroke had now joined the King's side.

30. *huge heaps of stones*] Briggs points out that Marlowe had already, in translating Lucan, written:

'That rampires fallen down, huge heaps of stone
Lie in our towns, that houses are abandon'd'. (ll. 25–6).

33. *St. George*] Marlowe's addition to his authorities, for St. George was not adopted as the patron saint of England until Edward III's reign. Drayton uses the same anachronism to make pre-

K. Edw. Saint George for England, and king Edward's right.
[*Alarums. Exeunt the two parties severally.*

Enter the KING *and his followers, with the* Barons *and* KENT, *captives.*

K. Edw. Now, lusty lords, now, not by chance of war,
But justice of the quarrel and the cause,
Vail'd is your pride; methinks you hang the heads,
But we'll advance them, traitors; now 'tis time
To be aveng'd on you for all your braves,
And for the murther of my dearest friend,
To whom right well you knew our soul was knit,
Good Pierce of Gaveston, my sweet favourite.
Ah, rebels, recreants, you made him away!
Kent. Brother, in regard of thee, and of thy land,
Did they remove that flatterer from thy throne.
K. Edw. So, sir, you have spoke; away, avoid our presence.
[*Exit* KENT.
Accursed wretches, was't in regard of us,
When we had sent our messenger to request
He might be spared to come to speak with us,
And Pembroke undertook for his return,
That thou, proud Warwick, watch'd the prisoner,
Poor Pierce, and headed him against law of arms?
For which thy head shall overlook the rest,
As much as thou in rage outwentst the rest.
War. Tyrant, I scorn thy threats and menaces;

35. S. D. *Alarums, Exeunt the two parties severally*] Dyce. *Enter* etc.] Add. Dyce. O, Qq. have simply *Enter Edmund with the Barons captives.* After *severally*, Dyce makes *Enter* . . . introduce a new scene in 'another part of the field'. 47. S. D. *Exit Kent*] add. Dyce. 49. *messenger*] *messengers* Qq. 2, 3. 53. *against*] *'gainst* Q3 and edd. to Ver.

cisely the same point in the same circumstances:

'Englands Red crosse upon both sides doth flye,
Saint *George* the King, saint *George* the Barrons cry.'
(*Mortimeriados*, 384–5).

52. *Warwick*] Warwick died in 1315, three years after the execution of Gaveston. Marlowe, compressing his time scheme, keeps Warwick alive to meet retribution after Boroughbridge, 1322.

52. *watch'd the prisoner*] See III. i. 13 above.

'Tis but temporal that thou canst inflict.
Lan. The worst is death, and better die to live
Than live in infamy under such a king.
K. Edw. Away with them, my lord of Winchester.
These lusty leaders, Warwick and Lancaster,
I charge you roundly—off with both their heads.
Away!
War. Farewell, vain world.
Lan. Sweet Mortimer, farewell.
Mor. jun. England, unkind to thy nobility,
Groan for this grief, behold how thou art maimed.
K. Edw. Go, take that haughty Mortimer to the Tower,
There see him safe bestow'd; and for the rest,
Do speedy execution on them all.
Begone!
Mor. jun. What, Mortimer! can ragged stony walls
Immure thy virtue that aspires to heaven?
No, Edward, England's scourge, it may not be;
Mortimer's hope surmounts his fortune far.
[*The captive* Barons *are led off.*
K. Edw. Sound drums and trumpets! March with me, my friends,
Edward this day hath crown'd him king anew.
[*Exeunt all except* SPENCER *junior*, LEVUNE, *and* BALDOCK.

57. *'Tis*] *It is* Dod.–Ver. 59. *Than*] *Then* O, Qq.: *To* Dod.–Coll. 62–3. *I charge. . . . Away*] O, Qq. print as one line. 69–70. *Do . . . Begone*] O, Qq. print as one line. 74. *his*] so O, Q1; but Qq. 2, 3 have *hie*. 74. S. D. *The captive* etc.] add. Dyce. 76. S. D.] *Exit. Manent Spencer filius, Lewne and Baldock* O, Qq.; *Levune* Dyce etc.; *Lecune* Rob.

57. *temporal*] concerning this world only, i.e. bodily punishment only. Brigg's cites Peele, *Edward I*, 'It is but temporal that you can inflict', Sc. v. l. 55.

58. *die to live*] The meaning is obvious, and the phrase common; cf. Kyd, *Cornelia*, IV. ii. 135: 'But so to die, as dying I may live.' The point of it is lost by Dodsley's alteration of the following *Than* [O, Qq. *Then*] to *To*.

60. *lord of Winchester*] i.e. Spencer the elder; see note to III. ii. 49 above.

61. *Warwick*] See note to l. 52 above.

71. *ragged*] The *N.E.D.* cites many instances of the application of this epithet to stones, rocks, cliffs and buildings, some as early as the fifteenth century and some as late as the nineteenth. In *Richard III*, IV. i. 102, the Tower is described as 'rude, ragged nurse'.

Spen. jun. Levune, the trust that we repose in thee,
Begets the quiet of King Edward's land.
Therefore begone in haste, and with advice
Bestow that treasure on the lords of France,
That therewith all enchanted, like the guard
That suffered Jove to pass in showers of gold
To Danae, all aid may be denied
To Isabel, the queen, that now in France
Makes friends, to cross the seas with her young son,
And step into his father's regiment.
Levune. That's it these barons and the subtle queen
Long levell'd at.
Bald. Yea, but, Levune, thou seest
These barons lay their heads on blocks together;
What they intend, the hangman frustrates clean.
Levune. Have you no doubts, my lords, I'll clap so close

81. *therewith all*] O, Qq. 1, 2; *therewithall* Q3. 87. *it*] *is* Q2. 88. *levell'd*] All edd. to Rob. have *leuied*. Coll.'s conjecture *levelled* is accepted by almost all modern edd. 91. *doubts*] O; but Q1 to Ver. *doubt(e)*; *clap so*] Dod.'s emend. for O, Qq. *claps*.

80. *Bestow that treasure* etc.] The Queen had gone to France ostensibly as envoy to settle a dispute between her husband and the French King. But she stayed so long that the King of England ordered her to return under penalty of being regarded as an enemy if she refused. Holinshed records that in fact she determined to return as an enemy to stir up revolt against her husband and the Spencers. However, Edward intervened and sought to make the Queen fall into disfavour in France; this he attempted by 'letters and promises of bribes'. But Holinshed adds, it was by the bribery practised by the Spencers that the object was really secured. 'The Spencers (some write) procured hir banishment out of Fraunce, and that shee was advised by the Earle of Arthoys, chiefly to repaire into Heynault. Also I finde, that the Spencers delivered five barrels of silver, the summe amounting unto five thousande markes, unto one Arnold of Spaine a broker, appoynting him to convey it over into Fraunce, to bestowe it upon such friendes as they had there of the French Kings counsaile, by whose meanes, the King of Fraunce did banishe his sister out of his Realme' (Holinshed, p. 877).

83. *Danae*] For the story of Danae's imprisonment by her father in the tower of brass, and of Jupiter's ruse to obtain access to her, see Ovid, *Metamorph.*, IV. 611, etc. See II. ii. 53 above.

86. *regiment*] royal authority. The *N.E.D.* notes that between 1550–1680 the commonest sense of the word was 'royal or magisterial authority' and it cites illustrations as early as 1390.

88. *levell'd*] aimed; a common Elizabethan sense, and the commonest one in Shakespeare's use of the word.

91. *clap*] Briggs explains 'set briskly to work', as in *Measure for*

Among the lords of France with England's gold,
That Isabel shall make her plaints in vain,
And France shall be obdurate with her tears.

Spen. jun. Then make for France amain; Levune, away.
Proclaim King Edward's wars and victories.

[*Exeunt.*

96. S. D.] O, Qq. add *omnes.*

Measure, IV. iii. 43 (and *As You Like It*, V. iii. 11). But a commoner sense is 'to strike (hands) reciprocally in token of a bargain' (cf. *Henry V*, V. ii. 133; *Winter's Tale*, I. ii. 104 etc., etc.): this sense here fits better with 'close', and with the circumstance that Levune is appointed to bargain with the French. He means he will bribe the French so secretly and securely that, etc.

ACT IV

SCENE I

Near the Tower of London

Enter KENT.

Kent. Fair blows the wind for France ; blow, gentle gale,
Till Edmund be arriv'd for England's good.
Nature, yield to my country's cause in this.
A brother, no, a butcher of thy friends,
Proud Edward, dost thou banish me thy presence ?
But I'll to France, and cheer the wronged queen,
And certify what Edward's looseness is.
Unnatural king, to slaughter noble men
And cherish flatterers. Mortimer, I stay
Thy sweet escape : stand gracious, gloomy night,
To his device.

Enter MORTIMER *junior, disguised.*

Mor. jun. Holla ! who walketh there ?
Is't you, my lord ?
Kent. Mortimer, 'tis I ;
But hath thy potion wrought so happily ?
Mor. jun. It hath, my lord ; the warders all asleep,
I thank them, gave me leave to pass in peace.

Act IV. Scene i.

add. Rob. *Near the Tower of London*] add. Dyce. 10–13. *Thy sweet . . . happily*] O, Qq. print as three lines, dividing at *device, lord.*

Act IV. Scene i.

S. D. *Kent*] Kent's banishment is an invention of Marlowe's.

11. S. D. *Mortimer*] Marlowe found the story of Mortimer's escape in Holinshed (p. 873) : ' About the same time, the L. Roger Mortimer of Wigmor, giving his kepers a drink y^t^ brought thē into a sound and heavie sleepe, escaped out of the Tower of London where he was prisoner.' But Holinshed provided no reason for Mortimer's imprisonment.

But hath your grace got shipping unto France?
Kent. Fear it not. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II

Paris

Enter the QUEEN *and* PRINCE EDWARD.

Q. Isab. Ah, boy, our friends do fail us all in France:
The lords are cruel, and the king unkind;
What shall we do?
P. Edw. Madam, return to England,
And please my father well, and then a fig
For all my uncle's friendship here in France.
I warrant you, I'll win his highness quickly;
'A loves me better than a thousand Spencers.
Q. Isab. Ah, boy, thou art deceiv'd, at least in this,
To think that we can yet be tun'd together;
No, no, we jar too far. Unkind Valois,
Unhappy Isabel, when France rejects,
Whither, oh, whither dost thou bend thy steps?

Enter SIR JOHN OF HAINAULT.

16. *unto*] *into* Q3.

Scene ii.

add. Rob. *Paris*] add. Dyce. 3. *do*] *go* Q2. 12. *dost*] so O, Qq.; Dyce conj. *must*, Coll. *dar'st*.

Scene ii.

2. *the king*] i.e. of France, Isabella's brother. See quotation from Holinshed at III. iii. 80 above for the scheme by which he was turned against her. Authority for the incidents of this scene occurs in Holinshed: 'King Edward understanding all the Quenes drift, at length sought the French Kings favour, and did so much by letters and promise of bribes with him and his counsaile, that Queene Isabell was destitute in manner of all helpe there, so that she was glad to withdraw into Haynault, by the comfort of John the Lord Beaumont, the Earle of Heynault his brother, who beeing then in the Court of Fraunce, and lamenting Queene Isabels case, imagined with himselfe of some marriage that mighte be had betwixt the yong Prince of Wales, and some of the daughters of his brother the Earle of Heynault, and thereupon required hir to goe into Heynault, and hee would bee glad to attende hir. She gladly consenting hereto, wēt thither with him, wher she was most ioyfully receyved w^t^ hir son, & all other of hir trayne' (p. 877).

Sir J. Madam, what cheer?
Q. Isab. Ah, good Sir John of Hainault,
Never so cheerless, nor so far distrest.
Sir J. I hear, sweet lady, of the king's unkindness;
But droop not, madam; noble minds contemn
Despair: will your grace with me to Hainault,
And there stay time's advantage with your son?
How say you, my lord, will you go with your friends,
And shake off all our fortunes equally?
P. Edw. So pleaseth the queen, my mother, me it likes;
The king of England, nor the court of France,
Shall have me from my gracious mother's side,
Till I be strong enough to break a staff;
And then have at the proudest Spencer's head.
Sir J. Well said, my lord.
Q. Isab. O, my sweet heart, how do I moan thy wrongs,
Yet triumph in the hope of thee, my joy.
Ah, sweet Sir John, even to the utmost verge
Of Europe, or the shore of Tanais,
Will we with thee to Hainault, so we will;
The marquis is a noble gentleman;
His grace, I dare presume, will welcome me.
But who are these?

Enter KENT *and* MORTIMER *junior.*

20. *shake off*] so O, Qq.; *share of* T. Brooke. 21. *pleaseth*] *please* Fleay, McL. 23. *have*] *heave* conj. Broughton in B.M. copy of Rob. ed. 30. *or*] *on* Dyce[1,2]. 31. *Will we*] *We will* Rob. and most edd. to Ver.

20. *shake off*] cast off (the hopes all of us have had in France). It is tempting to accept Tucker Brooke's emendation, 'share of'; but there is no need for it; Heynault is also sacrificing the friendship of France by sheltering Isabel.

25. *proudest*] i.e. (absolutely) exceeding proud.

30. *Tanais*] the Don, the river which the Elizabethans regarded as dividing Europe from Asia: cf. Drayton's *Polyolbion*, xv. 249, 'Europe and Asia keep on Tanais either side.' It is frequently cited in Elizabethan drama as a marginal point; cf. *Cyrus* D 4, 'I'll bear thee hence as far as Tanais,' and Greene, *Orlando Fur.*, I. i., 'Tanais, whose swift declining floods Invirons rich Europa to the north.'

32. *marquis*] i.e. the Count of Hainalt, William, brother of Sir John. In the quotation from Holinshed at l. 2 above, he is called the Earl of Hainalt.

Kent. Madam, long may you live,
Much happier than your friends in England do.
Q. Isab. Lord Edmund and lord Mortimer alive!
Welcome to France; the news was here, my lord,
That you were dead, or very near your death.
Mor. jun. Lady, the last was truest of the twain:
But Mortimer, reserv'd for better hap,
Hath shaken off the thraldom of the Tower,
And lives t' advance your standard, good my lord.
P. Edw. How mean you? and the king, my father, lives!
No, my Lord Mortimer, not I, I trow.
Q. Isab. Not, son! why not? I would it were no worse.
But, gentle lords, friendless we are in France.
Mor. jun. Monsieur le Grand, a noble friend of yours,
Told us, at our arrival, all the news—
How hard the nobles, how unkind the king
Hath showed himself; but, madam, right makes room
Where weapons want; and, though a many friends
Are made away, as Warwick, Lancaster,
And others of our party and faction;
Yet have we friends, assure your grace, in England
Would cast up caps, and clap their hands for joy,
To see us there appointed for our foes.
Kent. Would all were well, and Edward well reclaim'd,

42. *t'*] *to* Qq. 2, 3. 43. *and*] *an* Cunn., Wag., Pink. 51. *want*] *won't* Dod., Reed, Coll., Rob. *wont* Cunn. *a*] *so* Dod.–Rob., Cunn. 53. *party*] *partie* O, Qq.; *part* Dyce, Cunn., Wag., Fleay, Tan.

43. *and*] This may or may not be the 'and' which represents 'an', 'if'.

44. *not I*] Brooke records Broughton's suggested emendation, 'not so'. But, as Tancock noted, 'not I' can be taken as an abrupt ellipsis—'Certainly, as my father is alive, I will not advance my standard against him.'

45. *would it were no worse*] i.e. would the only obstacle was the prince's refusal to advance his standard against the king. Or perhaps she is thinking of worse things which might follow the advancing of the standard.

51. *a many*] The substantival use of *many* is common in Elizabethan English, followed, of course, by the partitive genitive 'of' etc. Not infrequently, by the influence of the adjectival use of *many*, the *of* fell out.

53. *faction*] Broughton introduced 'our' to regularize the metre.

56. *appointed*] made ready.

For England's honour, peace, and quietness.
Mor. jun. But by the sword, my lord, it must be deserv'd ;
The king will ne'er forsake his flatterers.
Sir J. My lords of England, sith the ungentle king
Of France refuseth to give aid of arms
To this distressed queen his sister here,
Go you with her to Hainault ; doubt ye not,
We will find comfort, money, men and friends
Ere long, to bid the English king a base.
How say, young prince, what think you of the match ?
P. Edw. I think King Edward will outrun us all.
Q. Isab. Nay, son, not so ; and you must not discourage
Your friends, that are so forward in your aid.
Kent. Sir John of Hainault, pardon us, I pray ;
These comforts that you give our woful queen
Bind us in kindness all at your command.
Q. Isab. Yea, gentle brother ; and the God of heaven
Prosper your happy motion, good Sir John.
Mor. jun. This noble gentleman, forward in arms,
Was born, I see, to be our anchor-hold.
Sir John of Hainault, be it thy renown,
That England's queen, and nobles in distress,
Have been by thee restor'd and comforted.
Sir J. Madam, along, and you, my lord, with me,
That England's peers may Hainault's welcome see.
[*Exeunt.*

59. *it*] *'t* Dyce–Ver. 61. *the*] *th'* Dod., Reed, Ox.–Ver. 66. *a base*] *abase* Q3–Rob. 67. *How say*] This is O, Qq. reading ; *How say'st* Dyce, Ell., Ver. ; *Now say* Cunn., Wag., Pink. *young*] *you* Ox., Rob. *you*] omit. Q2. 81. *lord*] *lords* Dyce, Bull., Ell., Ver. 82. S. D.] add. mod. edd.

59. *deserv'd*] The textual note indicates the general acceptance of Dyce's emendation to regularize the metre ; but Broughton suggested another way—the substitution of *earned* for *deserved*.

66. *a base*] This is a boys' game, prisoner's base, in which a player who leaves his 'base' or 'home' is chased by another, and, if caught, made prisoner. *To bid a base* is to challenge the player to risk the run. See *Two Gentlemen*, I. ii. 94, and *Venus and Adonis*, 303.

SCENE III

The Royal Palace, London

Enter the KING, ARUNDEL, *the* SPENCERS, *and* others.

K. Edw. Thus after many threats of wrathful war,
Triumpheth England's Edward with his friends;
And triumph, Edward, with his friends uncontroll'd.
My lord of Gloucester, do you hear the news?
Spen. jun. What news, my lord?
K. Edw. Why, man, they say there is great execution
Done through the realm; my lord of Arundel,
You have the note, have you not?
Arun. From the lieutenant of the Tower, my lord.
K. Edw. I pray let us see it. [*Takes the note.*] What have we there?
Read it, Spencer. [*Hands it to* SPENCER *junior, who reads the names.*
Why, so; they bark'd apace a month ago:
Now, on my life, they'll neither bark nor bite.
Now, sirs, the news from France? Gloucester, I trow
The lords of France love England's gold so well
As Isabella gets no aid from thence.
What now remains? have you proclaim'd, my lord,
Reward for them can bring in Mortimer?
Spen. jun. My lord, we have; and if he be in England,
'A will be had ere long, I doubt it not.
K. Edw. If, dost thou say? Spencer, as true as death,

Scene iii.

add. Rob. *The Royal Palace, London*] Dyce. *Enter . . . Arundel*] O, Qq. have *Matr.* See note to II. v. 98. 3. *his friends*] *his* omit. Cunn., Wag., Pink. 9. *Arun.*] OQ attribute this to *Matr.* See note to II. v. 98. 10. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 11. S. D.] So mod. edd. *Spencer reads their names.* O, Qq. 12. *a month*] *not long* Qq. 2, 3. 16. *Isabella*] Dyce's emendation for *Isabell* O, Qq.; Fleay followed O, Qq. but read *no more aid.*

Scene iii.

11. S. D. *the names*] i.e. the names of those 'noted' by the lieutenant of the Tower in his official report on the executed rebels, the 'note' of l. 8.

He is in England's ground ; our portmasters
Are not so careless of their king's command.

Enter a Post.

How now, what news with thee ? from whence come these ?

Post. Letters, my lord, and tidings forth of France ;
To you, my lord of Gloucester, from Levune.
[*Gives letters to* SPENCER *junior.*

K. Edw. Read.

Spen. jun. [*reads*].

' My duty to your honour premised, &c. I have, according to instructions in that behalf, dealt with the king of France his lords, and effected, that the queen, all discontented and discomforted, is gone : whither, if you ask, with Sir John of Hainault, brother to the marquis, into Flanders. With them are gone lord Edmund, and the lord Mortimer, having in their company divers of your nation, and others ; and, as constant report goeth, they intend to give king Edward battle in England, sooner than he can look for them. This is all the news of import.

Your honour's in all service, LEVUNE.'

K. Edw. Ah, villains, hath that Mortimer escap'd ?
With him is Edmund gone associate ?
And will Sir John of Hainault lead the round ?
Welcome, a God's name, madam, and your son ;
England shall welcome you and all your rout.
Gallop apace, bright Phœbus, through the sky,
And dusky night, in rusty iron car,

26. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 27. S. D.] *Spencer reades the letter* OQ ; *letters* Q 2, 3. 28. *premised*] O reads *promised* ; all editors except Briggs, and including T. Brooke, follow Q1 *præmised* [*premised*]. 46. *dusky*] *dusty* Ox., Rob., Cunn., Wag.

42. *round*] dance ; the *N.E.D.* has no note of this sense earlier than the sixteenth century (Douglas's *Aeneis* (1513)). The use is not uncommon in the later half of the century.

45. *Gallop apace* etc.] Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. ii. 1–4 : ' Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds ', etc.

46. *night, in rusty iron car*] Briggs aptly cites Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I. v. 28 : ' Then to her yron

Between you both shorten the time, I pray,
That I may see that most desired day,
When we may meet these traitors in the field.
Ah, nothing grieves me, but my little boy
Is thus misled to countenance their ills.
Come, friends, to Bristow, there to make us strong;
And, winds, as equal be to bring them in,
As you injurious were to bear them forth. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV

Near Harwich

Enter the QUEEN, PRINCE EDWARD, KENT, MORTIMER *junior, and Sir* JOHN *of* HAINAULT.

Q. Isab. Now, lords, our loving friends and countrymen,
Welcome to England all, with prosperous winds.

49. *these*] *those* Rob., Cunn., Wag. 54. S. D. *Exeunt*] add. Dod.

Scene iv.

add. Rob. *Near Harwich*] add. Dyce.

wagon she [Night] betakes', and 1 *Tamburlaine*, v. ii. 231, 'Let ugly darkness with her rusty coach'.

52. *Bristow*] This place is mentioned by Holinshed (p. 879) as a stage in Edward's flight to Wales to raise reinforcements after the landing of the Queen and her followers in England. 'Bristow(e)' is the commonest spelling in Elizabethan times.

Scene iv.

S. D. *Near Harwich*] Holinshed, p. 877: 'In the time that the Queene and hir sonne laye in the Courte of the Earle of Heynaulte, a marriage was concluded betwixte the Prince of Wales, and the Lady Phillippe, daughter to the said Earle, uppon certayne conditions, whereof one was, that the said Earle, should at his proper costes set ouer into England the saide Prince of Wales, with a crue of four C. men of armes, but whether there was any such marriage as thē concluded, and that in consideratiō thereof, the Earle of Heynaulte aided Quene Isabel and hir sonne, it may be doubted, bycause other writers make no such report. Neverthelesse, certayne it is, that the Earles brother sir John de Heynault L. Beaumond, was appointed with certain bands of men of armes, to the number of four C. or five hūdred, to passe ouer with the said Queene and hir sonne into Englande, and so thereupon began to make his purveyance for yᵗ iourney, which thing whē it came to the knowledge of King Edward and the Spēcers, they caused musters to be taken through the Realme, and ordeyned beacons to be set up,

Our kindest friends in Belgia have we left,
To cope with friends at home ; a heavy case
When force to force is knit, and sword and glaive
In civil broils makes kin and countrymen
Slaughter themselves in others, and their sides
With their own weapons gor'd. But what's the help ?
Misgoverned kings are cause of all this wrack ;
And, Edward, thou art one among them all,
Whose looseness hath betrayed thy land to spoil,
And made the channels overflow with blood

6. *makes*] so O ; *make* Qq.–Ver. 8. *gor'd*] so O, Qq. ; *gore* Dod. and most edd. to Ver. 9. *wrack*] *wreck* Dod.–Rob., Dyce–Ver. 12. *channels*] so O ; *channel* Qq. and edd. to Ver.

kept and watched, as wel in the valleys by the sea side, as within the countreys upō hilles and hygh groundes, y^t^ the same upon occasiō of the enimies arrivall, mighte be set on fire, to warne the countreis adioyning to assemble to resist them. But Q. Isabell and hir son, with such others as were with hir in Heynault, stayed not their iourney for doubt of all their adversaries provisiō, but immediately after y^t^ they had once made their purveyances & wer ready to depart, they tooke the sea, as y^t^ foresaid Q., hir son, Edmond of Wodstocke Erle of Kent, sir John de Heynault aforesaid, & the L. Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, a man of good experiēce in y^e^ warres, and divers others, hauing with thē a small cōpany of Englishmē, with a crue of Heynewyers & Almains, to y^e^ number of 2757 armed mē, the which sailing forth towards England, lāded at lēgth in Suffolk, at an Haven called Orwell besides Harwiche, the 25 daye of September.'

3. *Belgia*] the regular form, shortened from Gallia belgica, for the Netherlands in the sixteenth century.

4. *cope with*] The primary sense of the word, ultimately from L. *colaphus*, a blow with the fist, is to encounter in fight, and this is the common sense in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But the *N.E.D.* notes the obsolete sense in which friendly, not hostile implications were attached to the encounter ; it gives only three instances before 1640, and these are all from Shakespeare, *Lucrece* 99, *Hamlet*, III. ii. 60, and *Winter's Tale*, IV. iv. 435. This is Marlowe's sense here.

5. *glaive*] 'lance', the original meaning, had already in the sixteenth century given way to include 'bill' and 'sword'. Which of the three is meant can only be determined by the context.

9. *wrack*] disaster, destruction. Etymologically this is not the same word as *wreck*, though there has been so much mutual influence of related meanings that it is not always certain which word is meant, and particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the form was very common. But in those centuries, it is usually *wrack* which is intended, even when, as in l. 23 below, the spelling is *wreck*.

12. *channels*] gutters, 'cannels' or 'kennels', cut at the side of the road for surface drainage, and, in Marlowe's time, for much more offensive sewerage. See I. i. 188 above.

Of thine own people ; patron shouldst thou be,
But thou——

Mor. jun. Nay, madam, if you be a warrior,
You must not grow so passionate in speeches.
Lords, sith that we are by sufferance of heaven
Arriv'd, and armed in this prince's right,
Here for our country's cause swear we to him
All homage, fealty, and forwardness ;
And for the open wrongs and injuries
Edward hath done to us, his queen and land,
We come in arms to wreck it with the swords ;
That England's queen in peace may repossess
Her dignities and honours : and withal
We may remove these flatterers from the king,
That havocks England's wealth and treasury.

Sir J. Sound trumpets, my lord, and forward let us march.
Edward will think we come to flatter him.

Kent. I would he never had been flattered more.

[*Exeunt.*

13–14. *Of thine. . . thou*] printed as one line in O, Qq. 16. *You*] *Ye* O, Qq. 1, 2 ; but Q3 *You* adopted by Dyce and most edd. 17. *that*] omit. Cunn., Wag. 23. *swords*] so O, but Q–Ver. have *sword*. 27. *havocks*] *havoc(k)* Dod.–Wag., Bull.–Ver. 30. *been*] *bin* O. S. D. *Exeunt*] add. Dod.

23. *wreck it*] work destruction ; see note to l. 9 above. Modern editors who, like Tancock, print *wreak*, interpret 'wreak vengeance' ; but there is no authority in the early editions for 'wreak'.

27. *havocks*] The *N.E.D.* cites an example of this verbal use from Fenton, *Gold. Epist.* 171 (1577), 'A great Prince . . . entreth into the land of his enemie . . . to surmount and havock his enemy' ; and also Milton, *Tenure of Kings*, 38 (1648) : 'To havock and turn upside-down whole Kingdoms of men.'

SCENE V

Near Bristol

Enter the KING, BALDOCK, *and* SPENCER *junior, flying about the stage.*

Spen. jun. Fly, fly, my lord, the queen is over-strong;
Her friends do multiply, and yours do fail.
Shape we our course to Ireland, there to breathe.
K. Edw. What, was I born to fly and run away,
And leave the Mortimers conquerors behind?
Give me my horse, and let's r'enforce our troops:
And in this bed of honours die with fame.

Scene v.

add. Rob. *Near Bristol*] add. Dyce. 6. *and*] omit. by many edd. from Dod. *r'enforce*] so O, Qq., but all edd. except Fleay, Bull., T. Brooke and Briggs follow Dod., *reinforce*. 7. *honours*] so O; but Qq.–Ver. *honour*.

Scene v.

2. *Her friends*] The passage from Holinshed cited in the notes introducing scene iv. above, continues: 'Immediately after that the Q. and hir sonne wer come to land, it was wonder to see how fast ye people resorted unto them, and first of all etc.' (p. 877). Further, 'At the time of ye Queenes landing he [the King] was at London, and being sore amased with the newes, he required ayde of the Londoners. They aunswered, that they would do all the honor they might unto the Kyng, ye Queene, and to their sonne the lawfull heire of the lande: but as for Straungers and traitors to ye Realm, they woulde keepe them out of their gates, and resist them with all their forces: but to goe foorthe of the Citie further than that they myghte returne before sunne setting, they refused. . . . The King not greatly liking of this aunswere, fortified the Tower . . .' (p. 878).

3. *Ireland*] Holinshed reports that the King after fortifying the Tower, 'departed towardes the marches of Wales, there to reyse an army against the Queene' (p. 878). His arrival at Bristol is reported (p. 879), whence 'he sailed over into Wales, there to rayse a power of Welchmen in defence of himselfe against the Queene and hir adherents, whiche hee had good hope to finde amongest the Welchmen, bycause he had ever used them gently, and shewed no rigor towards them for their riottous misgovernance. Againe, he drew the rather into that part, that if there were no remedie, hee mighte easily escape over into Ireland, and get into some mountaine countrey, marishe ground, or other streit, where his enimies should not come at him' (p. 879). Note that Marlowe exonerates the King from the plan of flight.

5. *the Mortimers*] The elder Mortimer was in fact dead by this time.

6. *r'enforce*] restore the strength of. The spelling, of course, indicates the pronunciation needed by the metre.

Bald. O no, my lord, this princely resolution
Fits not the time; away, we are pursued. [*Exeunt.*

Enter KENT *alone, with a sword and target.*

Kent. This way he fled, but I am come too late.
Edward, alas, my heart relents for thee.
Proud traitor, Mortimer, why dost thou chase
Thy lawful king, thy sovereign, with thy sword?
Vile wretch, and why hast thou, of all unkind,
Borne arms against thy brother and thy king?
Rain showers of vengeance on my cursed head,
Thou God, to whom in justice it belongs
To punish this unnatural revolt.
Edward, this Mortimer aims at thy life.
O fly him, then! But, Edmund, calm this rage,
Dissemble, or thou diest; for Mortimer
And Isabel do kiss, while they conspire:
And yet she bears a face of love forsooth.
Fie on that love that hatcheth death and hate.
Edmund, away. Bristow to Longshanks' blood

9. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 14. *Vile*] the early edd. have *Vilde*.

10. S. D. *Kent* etc.] Tancock has an excellent note on Kent's soliloquy: 'A soliloquy intended to inform the audience of the views and character of Kent. History does not hint at any difference of opinion between him and Mortimer at this time, so soon after he joined the confederates. . . . Kent has taken a moderate, or middle, course. He is the opponent of the Spensers, eager to free the King from evil advisers. He left the King because of the bad government, joined the Queen and the party of the exiled Barons to reform the evils. . . . He has no selfish aims, so he becomes an object of suspicion to Mortimer and the Queen. His dislike of their aims and doings is natural, for they are no right representatives of the patriotic barons. Mortimer develops into as haughty and selfish a person as Gaveston and the Spensers.'

14. *Vile*] *Vilde*, the reading of the early edd. is a regular Elizabethan form of the word.

unkind] i.e. not according to 'kind' or 'nature', unnatural, a common Elizabethan sense; but Hamlet's pun 'more than kin and less than kind' shows that the modern sense was establishing itself.

25. *Bristow*] Holinshed records (as part of the King's journey towards Wales cited in preceding notes): 'In the meane time, the King being come to Bristow, left that Citie in the keeping of y^e^ Erle of Winchester. And with the Earles of Gloucester and Arundell, and the Lord Chancellor, Sir Roberte Baldocke, hee sailed over into Wales. . . . The Queene ac-

Is false ; be not found single for suspect :
Proud Mortimer pries near into thy walks.

Enter the QUEEN, PRINCE EDWARD, MORTIMER *junior, and Sir* JOHN *of* HAINAULT.

Q. Isab. Successful battles gives the God of kings
To them that fight in right and fear his wrath.
Since then successfully we have prevailed,
Thanks be heaven's great architect, and you.
Ere farther we proceed, my noble lords,
We here create our well-beloved son,
Of love and care unto his royal person,
Lord Warden of the realm, and sith the fates
Have made his father so infortunate,
Deal you, my lords, in this, my loving lords,
As to your wisdoms fittest seems in all.
Kent. Madam, without offence, if I may ask,
How will you deal with Edward in his fall?
P. Edw. Tell me, good uncle, what Edward do you mean?
Kent. Nephew, your father : I dare not call him king.
Mor. jun. My lord of Kent, what needs these questions?
'Tis not in her controlment, nor in ours,

27. *into*] *unto* Bull., Ell., Ver. 28. *Successful*] misp. *Successfulls* Qq. 1, 2 ; *batiles*] so O ; but Q–Ver. *battle*. 30. *successfully*] *successively* Q3. 31. *Thanks*] *Thankes* O ; *Thankt* Qq. 1–3, *Thanked* most mod. edd. to Ver. *heaven's*] *the heaven's* Fleay. 36. *infortunate*] *unfortunate* Q3.

companyed with a greate power, departed from Oxforde, and wente straight unto Gloucester, and sent before hir unto Bristow the Erle of Kent, the Kings brother, sir John of Hennegew, with other, to take the Earle of Winchester. They did theyr endevour with suche diligence, that the Townesmen compoundyng to be saved harmelesse in body and goodes, delivered the Towne and Castell unto the Queene, and to hir sonne the Prince' (p. 879).

26. *for suspect*] in view of the suspicion against you. 'Suspect' for 'suspicion' occurs again in IV. vi. 4, and is also fairly common from Chaucer onwards ; it is found in Shakespeare and in Daniel.

35. *Lord Warden*] Holinshed records that shortly after Bristol had fallen into the Queen's power, 'there was the Lorde Edwarde Prince of Wales and Duke of Aquitaine, made warden of Englande, by common decree, unto whome, all men, as to the Lorde warden of the realme, made fealtie, in receyving an othe of allegiance, to bee faithfull and loyall to him' (p. 880).

But as the realm and parliament shall please,
So shall your brother be disposed of.
I like not this relenting mood in Edmund.
Madam, 'tis good to look to him betimes.

[*Aside to the Queen.*

Q. Isab. My lord, the Mayor of Bristow knows our mind.
Mor. jun. Yea, madam, and they scape not easily
That fled the field.
Q. Isab. Baldock is with the king.
A goodly chancellor, is he not my lord?
Sir J. So are the Spencers, the father and the son.
Kent. This, Edward, is the ruin of the realm.

Enter RICE AP HOWELL, *and the* Mayor of Bristow, *with* SPENCER *senior, prisoner, and* Attendants.

48. S. D. *Aside*] add. Dod. 50. *scape*] *scapt* Q2. 54. S. D. *Kent*] All early edd. give this line to Kent. Many edd., Dyce, Wag., Tan., give it to Mortimer, taking it to be incompatible with Kent's soliloquy preceding. Fleay overcomes their difficulty by making it an aside and indicating Kent's meaning by inserting commas, as in our text, after *This* and *Edward*, and inserting the direction *To the Prince*. There is no authority for the commas in the early edd. 54. S. D. *and Attendants*] add. mod. edd.

54. S. D. *Kent*] See textual notes for different allocations of this line. Dyce first changed the assignment of the early edd., giving the line to Young Mortimer on the grounds that the sentiment is more suitable to Mortimer than to the Kent who has just previously revealed his real sentiments. Tancock accepts Dyce's change, pointing out that if Kent is to be taken as speaking the line, it is an attempt on his part to throw off the suspicion of Mortimer and the Queen by dissembling, as in fact in his soliloquy (l. 21 above) he had declared to be necessary. Briggs prefers to keep the allocation of the early editions, and interprets it in the way Tancock had pointed out to be essential for those who retained the line for Kent. But would an audience remember Kent's previous statement about the need for dissembling? Would it not rather think of Kent as one who in real nobility of mind had deserted the Queen's party? That view of him would be borne out by allowing him to speak the line allocated to him in the early editions, but by letting him speak it with the enunciation indicated by Fleay's punctuation.

54. S. D. *Rice ap Howell*] The following extracts from Holinshed are relevant to the action of this and the next scene. 'The King in this meane time kept not in one place, but shifting hither and thither, remayned in great care. Whereuppon, Sir Thomas Blunt an auntient Knight, and Lord Steward of the Kinges house, tooke his servauntes, with victuals, horses, and armoure in greate plentie, and came to the Queene, of whome, and lykewise of hir sonne hee was ioyfully receyved, and divers of them which hee brought with him were

Rice. God save Queen Isabel, and her princely son.
Madam, the mayor and citizens of Bristow,
In sign of love and duty to this presence,
Present by me this traitor to the state,
Spencer, the father to that wanton Spencer,
That, like the lawless Catiline of Rome,
Revell'd in England's wealth and treasury.

Q. Isab. We thank you all.

Mor. jun. Your loving care in this
Deserveth princely favours and rewards.
But where's the king and the other Spencer fled?

Rice. Spencer the son, created earl of Gloucester,
Is with that smooth-tongu'd scholar Baldock gone,
And shipp'd but late for Ireland with the king.

Mor. jun. Some whirlwind fetch them back or sink them all:
[*Aside.*
They shall be started thence, I doubt it not.

P. Edw. Shall I not see the king my father yet?

68. S. D. *Aside*] add. Rob.

reteyned, and the other had letters of protection, and were sent away in loving manner. The King with the Earle of Gloucester, and the Lord Chauncellor, taking the Sea, meante to have gone eyther into the Ile of Lunday, or else into Irelande, but beyng tossed with contrary windes for the space of a weeke togither, at length, he landed in Glamorgan shire and gote him to the Abbey and Castell of Neith, there secretly remaining uppon trust of the Welshmēs promises. . . . The Lordes of the lande assembled in counsell at Hereforde, whether the Queene was come from Bristowe. . . . The Queene remayned aboute a monethes space at Hereforde, and in the meane while, sente the Lorde Henry Earle of Leycester, and the Lorde William la Zouche, and one Rice ap Howell, that was lately delivered out of the Tower where hee was prisoner, into Wales, to see if they myghte finde meanes to apprehende the Kyng by helpe of their acquaintance in those parties, all three of them having landes thereaboutes where it was knowen the Kyng for the more part kepte. They used suche diligence in that charge, that finally with large giftes bestowed on the Welchmenne, they came to understande where the King was, and so on the daye of Saint Edmonde the Archebyshoppe, beeyng the sixteenth of November, they tooke hym in the Monasterie of Neith, neere to the Castell of Laturssan, togyther with Hugh Spencer the sonne called Earle of Gloucester, the Lorde Chauncellor Robert de Baldocke, and Simon de Reding the Kinges Marshall, not caring for other of the Kings servants whom they suffred to escape' (pp. 880–1).

60. *Catiline*] Commentators point out that this reference to the Roman conspirator has little point. There is substantially no parallel between the objects and the parts played by Catiline and by the Spencers.

Kent. Unhappy is Edward, chas'd from England's bounds.
[*Aside.*

Sir J. Madam, what resteth, why stand you in a muse?

Q. Isab. I rue my lord's ill-fortune; but alas,
Care of my country call'd me to this war.

Mor. jun. Madam, have done with care and sad complaint;
Your king hath wrong'd your country and himself,
And we must seek to right it as we may.
Meanwhile, have hence this rebel to the block.
Your lordship cannot privilege your head.

Spen. sen. Rebel is he that fights against his prince;
So fought not they that fought in Edward's right.

Mor. jun. Take him away, he prates;
[*Exeunt* Attendants *with* SPENCER *senior.*
You, Rice ap Howell,
Shall do good service to her majesty,
Being of countenance in your country here,
To follow these rebellious runagates.
We in meanwhile, madam, must take advice,
How Baldock, Spencer, and their complices,
May in their fall be followed to their end. [*Exeunt.*

71. *Unhappy is*] Fleay, *Unhappies* O, Qq.; *Unhappy* Dod.–Wag., Ell.–Ver.; *Unhappy's* Bull. S. D. *Aside*] add. Dyce. 72. *you*] *ye* O, Qq.; most mod. edd. follow Dyce *you*. 79. *Your lordship* etc.] This line omitted Q–Ver.; T. Brooke and Briggs restore it from O. 80. *his*] so O, T. Brooke and Briggs; *the* Q–Ver. 82. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 88. S. D.] O. Qq. add *omnes*.

72. *resteth*] remains to be done, a common Elizabethan use; cf. *Hamlet*, III. iii. 64, and *2 Tamburlaine*, II. i. 11.

84. *countenance*] importance, authority, authoritative force; cf. *Hamlet*, I. iii. 113, 'hath given countenance to his speech.'

85. *runagates*] runaways. The *N.E.D.* says it is an alteration of *renna-*, *rennegate*, 'renegate', by association with *ren(ne)*, 'run' (verb), and 'agate' (adverb); and is in common use c. 1550–1700, sometimes as a vague term of abuse. Marlowe is fond of the word.

SCENE VI

The Abbey of Neath, Glamorganshire

Enter the Abbot, Monks, *the* KING, SPENCER *junior, and* BALDOCK (*the three latter disguised*).

Abbot. Have you no doubt, my lord ; have you no fear ;
As silent and as careful will we be,
To keep your royal person safe with us,
Free from suspect, and fell invasion
Of such as have your majesty in chase,
Yourself, and those your chosen company,
As danger of this stormy time requires.
K. Edw. Father, thy face should harbour no deceit.
O, hadst thou ever been a king, thy heart,
Pierced deeply with sense of my distress,
Could not but take compassion of my state.
Stately and proud, in riches and in train,
Whilom I was, powerful, and full of pomp :
But what is he whom rule and empery
Have not in life or death made miserable ?
Come, Spencer ; come, Baldock, come, sit down by me ;
Make trial now of that philosophy,

Scene vi.

add. Rob. *The Abbey of Neath*] add. Dyce. S. D. *the three latter disguised*] add. mod. edd. 2. *will we*] so O, T. Brooke and Briggs ; Q–Ver. have *we will*. 10. *with sense*] *with a sense* Dod.–Rob. and most edd. to Ellis, except Dyce. 16. *come, Baldock*] *come* omit. Cunn., Wag., Fleay. 17. *that*] so O, Q1 ; omit Q2 ; *thy* Q3.

Scene vi

For extracts from Holinshed bearing on the action of this scene, see quotation at note on *Rice ap Howell* in the previous scene l. 54.

4. *suspect*] suspicion ; see note to IV. v. 26 above.

8. *harbour no deceit*] Briggs compares *Soliman and Perseda*, III. i. 72 : 'This face of thine shuld harbour no deceit.'

13. *Whilom*] Formerly. Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.*, III. i. 39 : 'As whilome was the antique worldes guize.' The form is dative plural of the noun *while*, which has now replaced it as an adverb. Other cases of the noun are used adverbially in Elizabethan English, the commonest being the genitive *whiles*.

14. *empery*] commonly used for 'empire' in Elizabethan English, and a favourite word of Marlowe's.

That in our famous nurseries of arts
Thou suckedst from Plato and from Aristotle.
Father, this life contemplative is heaven.
O that I might this life in quiet lead.
But we, alas, are chas'd ; and you, my friends,
Your lives and my dishonour they pursue.
Yet, gentle monks, for treasure, gold nor fee,
Do you betray us and our company.

Monks. Your grace may sit secure, if none but we
Do wot of your abode.

Spen. jun. Not one alive ; but shrewdly I suspect
A gloomy fellow in a mead below.
'A gave a long look after us, my lord ;
And all the land I know is up in arms,
Arms that pursue our lives with deadly hate.

Bald. We were embark'd for Ireland, wretched we,
With awkward winds and sore tempests driven
To fall on shore, and here to pine in fear
Of Mortimer and his confederates.

K. Edw. Mortimer, who talks of Mortimer ?
Who wounds me with the name of Mortimer,
That bloody man ? Good father, on thy lap
Lay I this head, laden with mickle care.
O might I never open these eyes again,
Never again lift up this drooping head,
O never more lift up this dying heart !

Spen. jun. Look up, my lord. Baldock, this drowsiness
Betides no good ; here even we are betray'd.

26. S. D. *Monks*] *Monk* or *First Monk* in most edd. from Ox. to Ver. 27. *Do*] Printed *doe* in O and Qq., [i.e., no initial capital] as if the Monks' speech is prose. 34. *sore*] *with sore* Q3, Dyce ; *surly* Dod. 41. *open*] *ope* Q2–Ver. 45. *here even*] *even here*, Ox., Rob., Cunn., Wag.

19. *suckedst*] Briggs cites *Jeronimo*, II. iii. 7–8, ' Hast thou . . . suckt Philosophy.'

34. *sore*] The textual notes show attempts to regularize the metre of this line ; but *sore* is here a dissyllable. In Elizabethan verse *r* after a vowel is frequently syllableized.

40. *mickle*] much. A common Elizabethan form taken over from Northern English.

Enter, with Welsh hooks, RICE AP HOWELL, *a* Mower, *and* LEICESTER.

Mow. Upon my life, those be the men ye seek.
Rice. Fellow, enough. My lord, I pray be short,
A fair commission warrants what we do.
Leices. The queen's commission, urged by Mortimer.
What cannot gallant Mortimer with the queen?
Alas, see where he sits, and hopes unseen
T' escape their hands that seek to reave his life.
Too true it is, *Quem dies vidit veniens superbum,*
Hunc dies vidit fugiens jacentem.
But, Leicester, leave to grow so passionate.
Spencer and Baldock, by no other names,
I arrest you of high treason here.
Stand not on titles, but obey th' arrest;
'Tis in the name of Isabel the queen.
My lord, why droop you thus?
K. Edw. O day! the last of all my bliss on earth,
Centre of all misfortune! O my stars!
Why do you lour unkindly on a king?
Comes Leicester, then, in Isabella's name
To take my life, my company from me?

46. *those*] *these* Q–Ver. 50. *gallant*] omit. Qq. 2–3, Dod.–Rob.; *with*] *do with* Q3. 57. *I arrest*] *I do arrest,* Ox. and most mod. edd. to Ver. 64. *Comes*] so O; *Come* Q; *Came* Qq. 2, 3.

45. S. D. *Welsh hooks*] bill-hooks with a cross-piece below the blade. The cross-piece was apparently the distinguishing feature; it gives point to Falstaff's remark in 1 *Henry IV*, II. iv. 372, 'he of Wales that . . . swore the devil his true liegeman upon the cross of a Welsh hook.' Other references to the Welsh hook occur in Jonson, *Wales*; Shirley, *Love Tricks*, v. iii.; *Oldcastle*, I. i.; Peele, *Edward I*, ii.

53. *Quem dies* etc.] From Seneca, *Thyestes*, 613–14. This is a passage which is frequently echoed in Elizabethan poetry; Briggs cites Jonson's version of it at the end of *Sejanus*:

'For whom the morning saw so great and high,
Thus low and little 'fore the even doth lie.'

56. *by no other names*] i.e. without the formal recital of their full names and titles, which would be usual in a legal document of arrest.

62. *Centre*] See note to III. i. 5 above.

O my stars etc.] Briggs cites Kyd, *Soliman and Perseda*, v. iv. 82–3:

'Ah heavens, that hitherto have smilde on me,
Why doe you unkindly lowre on Solyman?'

Here, man, rip up this panting breast of mine,
And take my heart in rescue of my friends!
Rice. Away with them.
Spen. jun. It may become thee yet
To let us take our farewell of his grace.
Abbot. My heart with pity earns to see this sight,
A king to bear these words and proud commands.
K. Edw. Spencer, ah, sweet Spencer, thus then must we part.
Spen. jun. We must, my lord, so will the angry heavens.
K. Edw. Nay, so will hell and cruel Mortimer;
The gentle heavens have not to do in this.
Bald. My lord, it is in vain to grieve or storm.
Here humbly of your grace we take our leaves;
Our lots are cast; I fear me, so is thine.
K. Edw. In heaven we may, in earth never shall we meet:
And, Leicester, say, what shall become of us?
Leices. Your majesty must go to Killingworth.
K. Edw. Must! 'tis somewhat hard, when kings must go.
Leices. Here is a litter ready for your grace,
That waits your pleasure, and the day grows old.
Rice. As good be gone, as stay and be benighted.
K. Edw. A litter hast thou? lay me in a hearse,
And to the gates of hell convey me hence;
Let Pluto's bells ring out my fatal knell,
And hags howl for my death at Charon's shore,

70. *earns*] *yearns* Dod., Rob., Cunn., Wag., Tan. 72. *ah*] omit. Dod., Rob., Cunn., Wag. 79. *never*] *ne'er* Dod.–Ver. 82. *'tis*] *it is* Dyce–Ver. 86. *in*] *on* Qq. 2, 3, Cunn.

70. *earns*] grieves bitterly. The *N.E.D.* cites examples from Shakespeare, *Henry V*, II. iii. 3, *Julius Caesar*, II. ii. 129, and Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iv. It gives also as another sense of this obsolete word, 'to desire strongly', citing two instances from Spenser, *Shepherd's Calendar*, March, 76, and *Faery Queen*, I. i. 3; it also notes its disapproval of Skeat's notion that these are senses of two different words. In form, 'earn' is an early variant of 'yearn'.

81. *Killingworth*] i.e. Kenilworth; the same form appears in the second edition of Holinshed, though in the first he regularly has Kenilworth.

88. *Pluto's bells*] Pluto had already acquired quite unclassical bells in Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*, I. i. 115 (the reference is cited by Briggs).

For friends hath Edward none but these and these,
And these must die under a tyrant's sword.

Rice. My lord, be going; care not for these,
For we shall see them shorter by the heads.

K. Edw. Well, that shall be, shall be: part we must.
Sweet Spencer, gentle Baldock, part we must.
Hence feigned weeds! unfeigned are my woes;
[*Throws off his disguise.*
Father, farewell. Leicester, thou stay'st for me,
And go I must. Life, farewell, with my friends.
[*Exeunt the* KING *and* LEICESTER.

Spen. jun. O, is he gone? is noble Edward gone?
Parted from hence? never to see us more?
Rent, sphere of heaven, and, fire, forsake thy orb,
Earth, melt to air! gone is my sovereign,
Gone, gone, alas, never to make return.

Bald. Spencer, I see our souls are fleeted hence;
We are depriv'd the sunshine of our life:
Make for a new life, man; throw up thy eyes

90. *friends*] *friend* Cunn., Wag., Fleay, Bull. *Edward*] *hapless Edward* Cunn. (on Dyce's suggestion), Wag. *and these*] omit. Dyce, Cunn., Wag., Ell. 91. *And these*] omit. Dod., Rob. 94. *that*] *what* Dod., Rob., *that that* Fleay. 96. S. D. *Throws off* etc.] add. Dyce. 98. S. D. *Leicester*] so O; but Qq. *Lancaster*. 101. *Rent*] *Rend* Dod., Rob., Ell. 104. *fleeted*] so O, but *fleeting* Qq.–Ver.

90. *these and these*] i.e. Spencer and Baldock on the one hand, the 'these' (l. 91) who must die, and the monks, who are still on the stage, on the other.

93. *shorter by the heads*] Tancock gives a further illustration of this grim joke from *Richard II*, III. iii. 13.

94. *that shall be*] Briggs cites *Faustus*, I. i. 48:

'What doctrine call you this, Che sera, sera,
What will be, shall be?'

96. *feigned weeds* etc.] Verity cites *Edward I*, XXV. 122:

'Unhappy King, dishonour'd in thy stock!
Hence feigned weeds! unfeigned is my grief.'

98. S. D. *Leicester*] Both this and the Qq. title *Lancaster* are correct. Henry, Earl of Leicester, was younger brother of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and in 1324, after Thomas's death, Henry succeeded to his rights. But the reading Leicester prevents confusion with the dead Thomas, who has already appeared as the Lancaster of the play.

101. *Rent*] a common Elizabethan form of *rend*.

104. *fleeted*] drifted; see note to I. iv. 49 above.

And heart and hand to heaven's immortal throne,
Pay nature's debt with cheerful countenance ;
Reduce we all our lessons unto this,
To die, sweet Spencer, therefore live we all ;
Spencer, all live to die, and rise to fall.

Rice. Come, come, keep these preachments till you come to the place appointed. You, and such as you are, have made wise work in England ; will your lordships away ?

Mow. Your worship, I trust, will remember me ?

Rice. Remember thee, fellow ! what else ? Follow me to the town. [*Exeunt.*

107. *hand*] *hands* Cunn., and most edd. to Ver. 112–14. *Come . . . away*] O, Qq. print as three verse lines ending *appointed, England, away*. 114. *your lordships*] *you* Fleay. 115. *worship*] *lordship* Q–Ver. 117. S. D. *Exeunt*] add. Dod.

ACT V

SCENE I

Kenilworth Castle

Enter the KING, LEICESTER, *the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, *and* TRUSSEL.

Leices. Be patient, good my lord, cease to lament,
Imagine Killingworth Castle were your court,

Act V. Scene i.

add. Rob. S. D. *Kenilworth Castle*] add. Dyce. S. D. *Enter the King* etc.] add. Dyce; *Enter the King, Leicester, with a Bishop for the crowne* O, Qq.

Act V. Scene i.

S. D. *Kenilworth Castle*] 'The King was delivered to the Earle of Leycester who conveyed him by Monmouth and Ledeburie unto Kenilworth Castell, where he remayned the whole winter' (Holinshed, p. 881).

S. D. *Winchester*] Giving stage directions, the early editions simply say 'with a Bishop for the crowne'. Reed named Winchester as the bishop. Greg accepts this, as do other modern editors except Briggs, who calls the identification 'doubtful', and suggests that if Marlowe had any particular bishop in mind, it was probably Hereford, since from v. ii. 30 it appears that Marlowe meant Winchester to learn of the abdication by letter. Briggs is, however, straining the text too severely; Winchester may properly be supposed to be delivering a letter of which he already knows the contents, since he received them from the writer. (See note to v. ii. 26 below.) Holinshed (p. 882), telling of the 'thirty three or thirty four' persons who were sent 'to Kenilworth to move the King to make resignation of his Crowne and tytle to the kingdome unto his sonne', says that the bishops amongst them were Winchester, Hereford and Lincoln. He adds that 'the bishoppes Winchester and Lyncolne went before, and comming to Kenilworth, associated with them the Earle of Leycester, of some called the Earle of Lancaster, that had the King in keeping: and having secrete conference with the King, they sought to frame his minde, so as he might be contented to resigne the crowne to his sonne.' . . . As a result of this private interview, the King resolved to abdicate, 'and so when the other Commissioners were come, and that the Bishop of Hereford had declared the cause wherefore they were sent,' the King announced his resolution to bow to their will. It is clear therefore that Marlowe is not adopting the full details recorded by Holinshed; and probably having no particular bishop in mind, he used Winchester here for reasons of stage economics.

S. D. *Trussel*] Holinshed does not name Trussel as one of the commissioners, though he is so named by Fabyan. But Holinshed, in the paragraph immediately following on his account of the com-

And that you lay for pleasure here a space,
Not of compulsion or necessity.
K. Edw. Leicester, if gentle words might comfort me,
Thy speeches long ago had eas'd my sorrows;
For kind and loving hast thou always been.
The griefs of private men are soon allay'd,
But not of kings. The forest deer, being struck,
Runs to an herb that closeth up the wounds;
But, when the imperial lion's flesh is gor'd,
He rends and tears it with his wrathful paw,
[And] highly scorning that the lowly earth
Should drink his blood, mounts up into the air.
And so it fares with me, whose dauntless mind
The ambitious Mortimer would seek to curb,
And that unnatural queen, false Isabel,
That thus hath pent and mew'd me in a prison;
For such outrageous passions cloy my soul,

13. [*And*] added Dod. and all edd. 14. *into*] so O, followed by Fleay, Wag.: but Qq. *to* is followed by most modern edd. to Ver.

mission, records that 'the same day Sir William Trussell Procurator for the whole Parliament did renounce the old King in the name of the whole Parliament.' In this scene only two speeches are allotted to Trussel (ll. 84–5 and 124), and the allocation is not completely authoritative (Greg, indeed, queries Trussel in his list of *dramatis personæ*), as the early edd. have only the speech-heading *Tru*, and there is no mention of Trussel in the directions at the head of the scene. Dod. took the prefix as the sign of a speaker he called Trusty, and Dilke assigned the lines to the Bishop.

9. *The forest deer, being struck* etc.] Legends about the instinct which leads animals to the cure for their ills were very common, and especially familiar was the story of the deer and its curative herb, dittany. Lyly has, 'The Hart beeing perced with the dart, runneth out of hand to the hearb *Dictanum* and is healed' (*Euphues*, p. 61, Arber's reprint). Aristotle has the same story of wild goats (*Hist. Animal*, ix. 6, 1). Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii. 50, 126, repeats the account, but specifies the wounds as those made by poisoned arrows: and the legend is referred to by Vergil (*Aeneid*, xii. 412–15).

14. *mounts up into* etc.] Much ingenuity has been expended on this line. Much of it turns on an alleged metrical incompleteness, the Qq. having misprinted the O *into* as *to*. Hence Brennan's proposal (*Anglia*, Beiblatt 1905, p. 209) to read 'it mounts', i.e. the blood mounts, so completing the metrical count and producing a conceit parallel to that in *3 Henry VI*, v. vi. 61–2. But, as the O reading makes clear, neither metre nor sense needs alteration. It is the lion, not its blood, which leaps upright when threatened or opposed.

As with the wings of rancour and disdain
Full often am I soaring up to heaven,
To plain me to the gods against them both.
But when I call to mind I am a king,
Methinks I should revenge me of the wrongs,
That Mortimer and Isabel have done.
But what are kings, when regiment is gone,
But perfect shadows in a sunshine day?
My nobles rule, I bear the name of king;
I wear the crown, but am controll'd by them,
By Mortimer, and my unconstant queen,
Who spots my nuptial bed with infamy;
Whilst I am lodg'd within this cave of care,
Where sorrow at my elbow still attends,
To company my heart with sad laments,
That bleeds within me for this strange exchange.
But tell me, must I now resign my crown,
To make usurping Mortimer a king?

B. of Win. Your grace mistakes; it is for England's good,
And princely Edward's right we crave the crown.

K. Edw. No, 'tis for Mortimer, not Edward's head;
For he's a lamb, encompassed by wolves,
Which in a moment will abridge his life.
But if proud Mortimer do wear this crown,
Heavens turn it to a blaze of quenchless fire;
Or, like the snaky wreath of Tisiphon,
Engirt the temples of his hateful head;

21. *often*] so O; Qq. have *oft*. to Ver. have *my*.

24. *the*] so O; Qq. and most edd.

34. *company*] keep company with. The *N.E.D.* marks the verb in this sense as obsolete; the earliest citation is from *Cursor Mundi*, c. 1340, and another is Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, v. v. 408.

44. *a blaze of quenchless fire*] Medea gave a crown to Creusa for whom Jason had deserted her; when Creusa placed the crown on her head, it poured forth a torrent of devouring flames, which nothing could quench and which, melting the gold, held the burning metal still more securely to her head. See Euripides, *Medea*, 1136 ff., and especially 1186 ff. For the adjective, see *Dido*, II. i. 186.

45. *Tisiphon*] Tisiphone, one of the Furies, from whose head snakes hung like hair; cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 571.

So shall not England's vine be perished,
But Edward's name survives, though Edward dies.
Leices. My lord, why waste you thus the time away?
They stay your answer; will you yield your crown?
K. Edw. Ah, Leicester, weigh how hardly I can brook
To lose my crown and kingdom without cause;
To give ambitious Mortimer my right,
That like a mountain overwhelms my bliss,
In which extreme my mind here murthered is.
But what the heavens appoint, I must obey!
Here, take my crown; the life of Edward too;
[*Taking off the crown.*
Two kings in England cannot reign at once.
But stay awhile, let me be king till night,
That I may gaze upon this glittering crown;
So shall my eyes receive their last content,
My head, the latest honour due to it,
And jointly both yield up their wished right.
Continue ever thou celestial sun;
Let never silent night possess this clime:
Stand still you watches of the element;
All times and seasons, rest you at a stay,
That Edward may be still fair England's king.
But day's bright beams doth vanish fast away,
And needs I must resign my wished crown.
Inhuman creatures, nurs'd with tiger's milk,
Why gape you for your sovereign's overthrow?

47. *vine*] *vines* O, Qq.; most modern edd. except Briggs, follow Rob.'s *vine*. 48. *survives*] so O, Q1; Q2 misprints *survies* and Q3 *survive* is followed by edd. to Fleay. 55. *extreme*] *extremes* Qq. 2, 3, Dod., Cunn., Wag. 56. *what*] so O; but Qq. 1–3 *that* is adopted by Dyce, Fleay, Tan. 57. S. D. *Taking off* etc.] add. Dyce. 59. *be*] omit. Q1. 69. *beams*] so O; Qq. and edd. to Ver. have *beam*.

47. *England's vine*] Robinson's emendation is to be preferred, as the reference is not to the non-existent vineyards of England but to the emblematic vine on the English crown. See note to III. ii. 163 above.

66. *element*] sky; a sense often found in Shakespeare; cf. *Twelfth Night*, I. i. 26, *Henry V*, IV. i. 107, etc. For the whole line cf. *Faustus*, v. ii. 140: 'Stand still you ever-moving spheres of heaven.'

My diadem I mean, and guiltless life.
See, monsters, see, I'll wear my crown again!
[*He puts on the crown.*
What, fear you not the fury of your king?
But, hapless Edward, thou art fondly led;
They pass not for thy frowns as late they did,
But seeks to make a new-elected king;
Which fills my mind with strange despairing thoughts,
Which thoughts are martyred with endless torments,
And in this torment comfort find I none,
But that I feel the crown upon my head,
And therefore let me wear it yet awhile.

Trus. My lord, the parliament must have present news,
And therefore say, will you resign or no?
[*The* KING *rageth.*

K. Edw. I'll not resign; but whilst I live [I'll live].
Traitors, be gone! and join you with Mortimer!
Elect, conspire, install, do what you will,
Their blood and yours shall seal these treacheries!

B. of Win. This answer we'll return, and so farewell.

Leices. Call them again, my lord, and speak them fair;
For if they go, the prince shall lose his right.

K. Edw. Call thou them back, I have no power to speak.

Leices. My lord, the king is willing to resign.

B. of Win. If he be not, let him choose.

K. Edw. O would I might! but heavens and earth conspire
To make me miserable. Here receive my crown;

74. S. D. *He puts on the crown*] add. Rob. 78. *seeks*] *seek* Q3.–Ver. 84. S. D. *Trus.*] *Tru.* O, Qq.; *Trusty* Dod.–Rob., *Bishop* Dilke. 86. *but*] *not* Qq. 2, 3, Cunn., Wag., Ver. [*I'll live*] Brereton. *be king* add. Dod. at end of line, followed by mod. edd. except Cunn., Wag., Briggs. Brereton (*M.L.R.*, Jan. 1911) suggests *I'll live*, instead of Dodsley's *be king*. We adopt this, as the omission of a second *live* is more easily explicable than the omission of anything else. Such omission in O would also explain why the *but* of O, making nonsense, would be changed in Q to something which at least made sense. 87. *and*] omit. Cunn., Wag. *you*] omit. Dod.–Rob. 88. *conspire*] *confirm* Reed, Rob.

77. *pass not for*] For *pass* = *care*, cf. *Lusty Juventus*, Hazlitt–Dodsley, ii. 47, 'I do not greatly pass.'

Receive it? no, these innocent hands of mine
Shall not be guilty of so foul a crime.
He of you all that most desires my blood,
And will be called the murtherer of a king,
Take it. What, are you mov'd? pity you me?
Then send for unrelenting Mortimer,
And Isabel, whose eyes, being turn'd to steel,
Will sooner sparkle fire than shed a tear.
Yet stay, for rather than I will look on them,
Here, here! [*Gives the crown.*
Now, sweet God of heaven,
Make me despise this transitory pomp,
And sit for aye enthronized in heaven.
Come, death, and with thy fingers close my eyes,
Or if I live, let me forget myself.

B. of Win. My lord—

K. Edw. Call me not lord; away—out of my sight:
Ah, pardon me: grief makes me lunatic.
Let not that Mortimer protect my son;
More safety is there in a tiger's jaws,
Than his embracements. Bear this to the queen,
Wet with my tears, and dried again with sighs;
[*Gives a handkerchief.*

104. *being*] Qq., *beene* O. 106. *I will*] O, Qq.; *I'll* Dyce–Ver. 107. S. D. *Gives the crown*] add. Rob. 111. S. D.] O, Qq. have here *Enter Bartley* [for Berkeley]. 112. *My lord*] O, Qq. give this to *Bartley*; Rob.'s attribution to *Win.* is generally adopted. 113–14. *Call . . . lunatic*] O, Qq. print as three lines ending *lord, me, lunatic.* 116. *is there*] O, *there is* Qq. 117. *Than*] O misprints *This.* 118. S. D. *Gives a handkerchief*] add. Dyce.

109. *enthronized*] Though now obsolete, this form was not uncommon from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century.

112. S. D. *B. of Win.*] The two words *My lord* are given in OQ to Berkeley (Bartley). See textual notes above. OQ also have the direction *Enter Bartley* immediately before these words. In our text we have adopted the rearrangement of most editors. But the original directions are defended by Brereton (*M.L.R.*, Jan. 1911) on the grounds that Berkeley immediately on entering salutes the King, and then has to await the favour of his betters until, at l. 128, he can present his letter to Leicester. See also the note on the direction at l. 127.

115. *protect*] be protector to (in the technical sense).

If with the sight thereof she be not moved,
Return it back and dip it in my blood.
Commend me to my son, and bid him rule
Better than I. Yet how have I transgress'd,
Unless it be with too much clemency?

Trus. And thus most humbly do we take our leave.

[*Exeunt the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *and* TRUSSEL.

K. Edw. Farewell; I know the next news that they bring
Will be my death; and welcome shall it be;
To wretched men death is felicity.

Enter BERKELEY, *who gives a paper to* LEICESTER.

Leices. Another post. What news brings he?

K. Edw. Such news as I expect: come, Berkeley, come,

124. S. D. *Trus.*] Dod.–Rob. assign to *Trusty*. S. D. *Exeunt the Bishop* etc.] added Rob. 127. S. D. *Enter Berkeley*] O, Qq. have this entry at l. 111 above. The fuller direction in the text is derived from Dyce.

127. *Enter Berkeley*] 'But now to make an ende of the life aswel as of the raigne of K. Edward the secõd, I find that after he was deposed of his kingly honour and title, hee remayned for a tyme at Kenilworth, in custodye of the Earle of Leycester. But within a while, the Queene was informed by the bishop of Hereforde (whose hatred towardes hym had no ende) that the Earle of Leycester favoured hir husband too much, and more than stood with the suretie of hir sonnes estate, wherupon he was appointed to the keping of two other lords, Tho. Berkcley and John Matrevers, who receyving him of the Earle of Leycester the third of Aprill conveyed him from Kenilworth unto the castell of Berkley, situate not farre from the Severne, almost in the midway betwixt Gloucester and Bristow. But forsomuch as the Lord Berkeley used him more curteouslye than his adversaries wished him to doe, hee was discharged of that office, and sir Thomas Gourney appoynted in his stead, who together with the Lorde Matrevers conveyed him secretly (for feare least he should be taken frõ them by force) from one strong place to another . . . and so at length they brought him backe againe in secrete maner unto the Castell of Berkley' (Holinshed, p. 883).

127. S. D. *Enter Berkeley* etc.] See textual notes above. In O, Qq. this direction occurs at l. 111. Its presence there is not necessarily bound up with the allocation of 'My lord' (l. 112) to Berkeley, as it is common to find directions indicating the entrance of a character before the text really requires his presence. 'Actors might be trusted to find their own way off the stage. But it was important that they should enter at the right moment. The author may fail to secure this. It is his tendency to place an entry just before the first speech of the character concerned. The cautious book-keeper sometimes shifts it to an earlier point, so as to allow time for the character to cross the stage' (Sir E. K. Chambers, *W. Shakespeare*, i. 120). The allowance of 14 lines, however, which occurs here seems very liberal.

And tell thy message to my naked breast.
Berk. My lord, think not a thought so villainous
Can harbour in a man of noble birth.
To do your highness service and devoir,
And save you from your foes, Berkeley would die.
Leices. My lord, the council of the queen commands
That I resign my charge.
K. Edw. And who must keep me now? Must you, my lord?
Berk. Ay, my most gracious lord, so 'tis decreed.
K. Edw. [*taking the paper.*] By Mortimer, whose name is written here.
Well may I rent his name that rends my heart! [*Tears it.*
This poor revenge hath something eas'd my mind.
So may his limbs be torn, as is this paper.
Hear me, immortal Jove, and grant it too.
Berk. Your grace must hence with me to Berkeley straight.
K. Edw. Whither you will; all places are alike,
And every earth is fit for burial.
Leices. Favour him, my lord, as much as lieth in you.
Berk. Even so betide my soul as I use him.
K. Edw. Mine enemy hath pitied my estate,
And that's the cause that I am now remov'd.
Berk. And thinks your grace that Berkeley will be cruel?
K. Edw. I know not; but of this am I assured,
That death ends all, and I can die but once.
Leicester, farewell.
Leices. Not yet, my lord; I'll bear you on your way.
[*Exeunt.*

135. *of*] O, Q1; *and* Qq. 2, 3. 139. S. D. *taking the paper*] add. Dyce. 140. S. D. *Tears it*] add. Dyce. 143. *immortal*] Q2 misspells *immoral*. 149. *Mine*] *My* Qq. 2, 3. 155. S. D.] O, Qq. add *omnes*.

130. *tell thy message* etc.] Berkeley's reply makes it appear that Edward offers his naked breast as to a murderer's dagger.

SCENE II

The Royal Palace, London

Enter the QUEEN *and* MORTIMER *junior.*

Mor. jun. Fair Isabel, now have we our desire:
The proud corrupters of the light-brain'd king
Have done their homage to the lofty gallows,
And he himself lies in captivity.
Be rul'd by me, and we will rule the realm.
In any case take heed of childish fear,
For now we hold an old wolf by the ears,
That, if he slip, will seize upon us both,
And gripe the sorer, being grip'd himself.
Think therefore, madam, that imports us much
To erect your son with all the speed we may,
And that I be protector over him;
For our behoof will bear the greater sway
Whenas a king's name shall be under writ.

Q. Isab. Sweet Mortimer, the life of Isabel,
Be thou persuaded that I love thee well,
And therefore, so the prince my son be safe,
Whom I esteem as dear as these mine eyes,
Conclude against his father what thou wilt,
And I myself will willingly subscribe.

Mor. jun. First would I hear news he were depos'd,

Scene ii.

add. Rob. *The Royal Palace*] from Dyce. 10. *that*] so O, Qq.; *it* Dod., Rob., Dyce[1], Cunn., Wag.; *that it* Kelt., Bull.; *that't* Fleay. *us*] Qq. 2, 3, *as* OQ. 11. *with all*] Q3, *withall* O, Qq. 1, 2. 13. *will*] O, Q1, *'twill* Qq. 2, 3, Dod. and most edd. to Ver. 21. *news*] Qq. and most edd. to Ver., except Cunn., who follows O *news that*; A.B.D. and Wag. have *the news*.

Scene ii.

7. *old wolf* etc.] Wagner names the Greek proverb about having a wolf by the ears, *τὸν λύκον τῶν ὤτων ἔχω*; and Briggs, citing Terence, *Phormio*, III. ii. 21, '*lupum auribus tenere*', illustrates the passage of the proverb through Renaissance drama, naming *Lust's Dominion* (Dodsley, xiv. p. 148), Webster, *Vittoria Corombona*, IV. iv., Fletcher, *Island Princess*, V. ii., and Shirley, *Politician*, I. i.

And then let me alone to handle him.

Enter Messenger.

Letters! from whence?

Mess. From Killingworth, my lord.

Q. Isab. How fares my lord the king?

Mess. In health, madam, but full of pensiveness.

Q. Isab. Alas, poor soul, would I could ease his grief.

Enter the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER *with the crown.*

Thanks, gentle Winchester.

[*To the Messenger*]. Sirrah, be gone.

[*Exit* Messenger.

26. S. D. *Enter* etc.] add. Rob.

26. *would I could ease his grief*] The quotation from Holinshed above (at note to line 127 of v. i.) continues, '. . . Castell of Berkley, where whilest he remayned (as some write) the Queene woulde send unto him courteous and loving letters with apparell and other such things, but she would not once come nere to visite him, bearing him in hand that shee durst not, for feare of the peoples displeasure, who hated him so extremely' (p. 883).

26. S. D. *Winchester*] Editors point out that either inadvertently or deliberately Marlowe gives to Winchester acts which his authorities attributed to the Bishop of Hereford. But there is a little confusion in Holinshed, who, having said that 'but two Bishops' along with other ranks, were sent to urge Edward to abdicate, names three bishops as members of the embassy. 'The Bishops that were sent were these, as de la More noteth, John de Stratford Bishop of Winchester, Adam de Torlton Bishop of Hereford, and Henrie Bishop of Lyncolne' (p. 882). A little later, however, he says that 'The Bishoppes of Winchester and Lyncolne went before,' as a sort of preliminary deputation, to persuade the King to give the full deputation the answer they desired, his abdication of the crown: 'The Ambassadors wyth this answere returning to London, declared the same unto all the estates.' This is presumably the document, the 'letter' of l. 30, of which Winchester would see the sealing, and of which he would be the bearer (see note to v. i. S. D. above). Holinshed, however, makes Hereford responsible for the information and advice about changes in the custodianship of Edward which are here summarily recounted by Winchester. The deputation had found Edward in Leicester's charge at Kenilworth: 'hee remayned for a tyme at Kenilworth, in the custodye of the Earle of Leycester. But within a while the Queene was informed by the bishop of Hereforde, (whose hatred towards hym had no ende) that the Earle of Leycester favoured hir husband too much, and more than stood with the suretie of hir sonnes estate, wherupon he was appointed to the keping of two other lords, Tho. Berkeley, and John Matrevers, who receyving him of the Earle of Leycester the third of Aprill, conveyed him from Kenilworth unto

B. of Win. The king hath willingly resign'd his crown.
Q. Isab. O happy news! send for the prince, my son.
B. of Win. Further, ere this letter was seal'd, Lord Berkeley came,
So that he now is gone from Killingworth;
And we have heard that Edmund laid a plot
To set his brother free; no more but so.
The lord of Berkeley is so pitiful
As Leicester that had charge of him before.
Q. Isab. Then let some other be his guardian.
Mor. jun. Let me alone, here is the privy seal.
[*Exit the* BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.
Who's there?—Call hither Gurney and Matrevis.
[*To Attendants within.*
To dash the heavy-headed Edmund's drift,

30. *ere*] *or* O, Qq.; *letter*] omit. Dyce, Cunn., Wag.; *Berkeley*] *Bartley*, here and generally in O, Qq. 37. S. D. *Exit* etc.] add. Dyce. 38. S. D. *To Attendants . . .*] add. Dyce.

the castell of Berkley, situate not farre from the Severne, almost in the mid way betwixt Gloucester and Bristow. But forsomuch as the Lord Berkeley used him more curteouslye than his adversaries wished him to doe, hee was discharged of that office, and sir Thomas Gourney appoynted in his stead, who togither with the Lorde Matrevers conveyed him secretly (for feare least he should be taken from them by force,) from one strong place to another, as to the castell of Corfe, and suche like, still removing with him in the night season, till at length they thought it should not be known whither they had conveyed him. And so at length they brought him backe againe in secrete maner unto the Castell of Berkley' (pp. 882–3).

30. *letter*] see extract from Holinshed above.

31. *from Killingworth*] See extract from Holinshed above.

32. *Edmund laid a plot*] 'But as he thus continued in prison, closely kept, so that none of hys friends might have accesse unto him, as in suche cases it often happeneth, when men be in miserie, some will ever pitie their state, there were diverse of the nobilitie (of whom the Earle of Kent was chiefe) began to devise meanes by secrete conference had togithers, how they might restore hym to libertie' (Holinshed, p. 883).

34. *Berkeley is so pitiful*] See extract from Holinshed, l. 26 above.

37. S. D. *Exit the Bishop*] 'Tancock, Bullen, McLaughlin, Verity, follow Dyce in inserting after this line a stage direction—Exit the Bishop of Winchester. There seems to be no reason for doing so. Ll. 29, 36 show that the Queen is not unwilling to speak freely before him, and the latter part of his speech shows that he is in thorough sympathy with them' (Briggs). Briggs's statement of the relation between Marlowe's Queen and the Bishop of Winchester is right. Even so, as the Bishop is not required again in the scene, it is reasonable to give him his exit here.

39. *dash*] ruin, confound. The *N.E.D.* notes that in the sixteenth

Berkeley shall be discharg'd, the king remov'd,
And none but we shall know where he lieth.
Q. Isab. But, Mortimer, as long as he survives,
What safety rests for us, or for my son?
Mor. jun. Speak, shall he presently be dispatch'd and die?
Q. Isab. I would he were, so it were not by my means.

Enter MATREVIS *and* GURNEY.

Mor. jun. Enough.
Matrevis, write a letter presently
Unto the lord of Berkeley from ourself
That he resign the king to thee and Gurney;
And when 'tis done, we will subscribe our name.
Mat. It shall be done, my lord. [*Writes.*
Mor. jun. Gurney.
Gur. My lord.
Mor. jun. As thou intendest to rise by Mortimer,
Who now makes Fortune's wheel turn as he please,
Seek all the means thou canst to make him droop,
And neither give him kind word nor good look.
Gur. I warrant you, my lord.
Mor. jun. And this above the rest: because we hear
That Edmund casts to work his liberty,
Remove him still from place to place by night,
Till at the last he come to Killingworth,
And then from thence to Berkeley back again;
And by the way, to make him fret the more,
Speak curstly to him; and in any case

41. *And none but we* etc.] Fleay regularizes the metre by printing *And where he lieth none but we shall know.* 60. *Till*] *And* O.

and seventeenth centuries this was the usual word for the rejection of a bill in Parliament. The sense survives now only in the phrase 'to dash one's hopes'.

drift] design, plot, a sense now obsolete but not uncommon in the sixteenth century. The *N.E.D.* cites examples from More (1513), Dale (1538) and Knolles (1603).

49. *That he resign*] See quotation from Holinshed at l. 26 above.

59. *from place to place*] See quotation from Holinshed at l. 26 above.

63. *curstly*] harshly, virulently. The *N.E.D.* illustrates this not uncommon sixteenth-century sense by quoting this text.

Let no man comfort him if he chance to weep,
But amplify his grief with bitter words.

Mat. Fear not, my lord, we'll do as you command.

Mor. jun. So now away; post thitherwards amain.

Q. Isab. Whither goes this letter? to my lord the king?
Commend me humbly to his majesty,
And tell him that I labour all in vain
To ease his grief, and work his liberty;
And bear him this as witness of my love.
[*Gives a ring.*

Mat. I will, madam. [*Exit with* GURNEY.

Mor. jun. Finely dissembled. Do so still, sweet queen.
Here comes the young prince with the earl of Kent.

Q. Isab. Something he whispers in his childish ears.

Mor. jun. If he have such access unto the prince,
Our plots and stratagems will soon be dash'd.

Q. Isab. Use Edmund friendly as if all were well.

Enter PRINCE EDWARD, *and* KENT *talking with him.*

Mor. jun. How fares my honourable lord of Kent?

Kent. In health, sweet Mortimer: how fares your grace?

Q. Isab. Well, if my lord your brother were enlarg'd.

Kent. I hear of late he hath depos'd himself.

72. S. D. *Gives a ring*] add. Dyce. 73. S. D.] *Exeunt Matreuis and Gurney. Manent Isabell and Mortimer. Enter the yong Prince, and the Earle of Kent talking with him* O, Qq.

69. *Commend me humbly*] 'where [i.e. Berkeley Castle] whilest he remayned (as some write) the Queene woulde send unto him courteous and loving letters with apparell and other such things, but she would not once come nere to visite him, bearing him in hand that shee durst not, for feare of the peoples displeasure, who hated him so extremely' (Holinshed, p. 883). But immediately afterwards, telling of Kent's conspiracy in the King's behalf, Holinshed adds: 'The Queene and other the governours understanding this conspiracie of the erle of Kent and of his brother durst not yet in that new and greene world go about to punishe it, but rather thought good to take away from them the occasion of accomplishing their purpose. And hereupon the Queene and the Bishop of Hereforde wrote sharpe letters unto his keepers, blaming them greatly, for that they dealt so gently with him, and kept him no straytlier, but suffred him to have such libertie' (p. 883).

Q. Isab. The more my grief.
Mor. jun. And mine.
Kent. Ah, they do dissemble. [*Aside.*
Q. Isab. Sweet son, come hither, I must talk with thee.
Mor. jun. Thou being his uncle, and the next of blood,
Do look to be protector over the prince.
Kent. Not I, my lord; who should protect the son,
But she that gave him life? I mean the queen.
P. Edw. Mother, persuade me not to wear the crown:
Let him be king. I am too young to reign.
Q. Isab. But be content, seeing it his highness' pleasure.
P. Edw. Let me but see him first, and then I will.
Kent. Ay, do, sweet nephew.
Q. Isab. Brother, you know it is impossible.
P. Edw. Why, is he dead?
Q. Isab. No, God forbid.
Kent. I would those words proceeded from your heart.
Mor. jun. Inconstant Edmund, dost thou favour him,
That wast a cause of his imprisonment?
Kent. The more cause have I now to make amends.
Mor. jun. I tell thee, 'tis not meet that one so false

86. S. D. *Aside*] add Dyce. 88. *Thou*] so O; *You* Q and most modern edd. 94. *it*] so O, Q1; Qq. 2–3 have *it is*, and most modern edd. *'tis* from Dyce.

92. *Mother, persuade me not*] This is a modification of the one passage in Holinshed which refers to the young prince's attitude towards his succession. After the abdication, 'The Archbishop of Canterburie taking his theme *Vox populi, vox dei*, made a Sermon, exhorting the people to pray to God to bestow of his grace uppon the new king. And so when the sermon was ended every man departed to his lodging. But the Duke of Aquitaine [i.e. the prince] when hee perceyved that his mother tooke the matter heavily in appearance, for that hir husband should be thus deprived of the crown, he protested that he would never take it upon him without his fathers consent, and so thereupon it was concluded that certaine solemne Messengers should go to Kenilworth to move the king to make resignation of his Crowne and tytle to the kingdome unto his sonne' (Holinshed, pp. 881–2).

104. *I tell thee* etc.] 'Editors usually give these lines as an aside to the queen. Surely Mortimer would not have laid the emphasis that he does upon "false" and "prince", had the words been intended solely for the queen's ears. Addressed to her, but not as an "aside", the speech is perfectly natural and lends vividness to the dialogue' (Briggs).

Should come about the person of a prince.
My lord, he hath betray'd the king his brother,
And therefore trust him not.

P. Edw. But he repents, and sorrows for it now.

Q. Isab. Come, son, and go with this gentle lord and me.

P. Edw. With you I will, but not with Mortimer.

Mor. jun. Why, youngling, 'sdain'st thou so of Mortimer?
Then I will carry thee by force away.

P. Edw. Help, uncle Kent, Mortimer will wrong me.

Q. Isab. Brother Edmund, strive not; we are his friends;
Isabel is nearer than the earl of Kent.

Kent. Sister, Edward is my charge, redeem him.

Q. Isab. Edward is my son, and I will keep him.

Kent. Mortimer shall know that he hath wronged me.
Hence will I haste to Killingworth Castle,
And rescue aged Edward from his foes,
To be reveng'd on Mortimer and thee.

[*Exeunt on one side the* QUEEN, PRINCE EDWARD, *and* MORTIMER *junior; on the other,* KENT.

SCENE III

Near Kenilworth Castle

Enter MATREVIS *and* GURNEY *and* Soldiers, *with the* KING.

Mat. My lord, be not pensive, we are your friends;
Men are ordain'd to live in misery,
Therefore come: dalliance dangereth our lives.

K. Edw. Friends, whither must unhappy Edward go?
Will hateful Mortimer appoint no rest?

121. *Exeunt* etc.] add. mod. edd.; *Exeunt omnes* O, Qq.

Scene iii.

add. Rob. *Near Kenilworth Castle*] add. Dyce. 1. *pensive*] *so pensive,* Wag.

Must I be vexed like the nightly bird,
Whose sight is loathsome to all winged fowls?
When will the fury of his mind assuage?
When will his heart be satisfied with blood?
If mine will serve, unbowel straight this breast,
And give my heart to Isabel and him;
It is the chiefest mark they level at.

Gur. Not so, my liege, the queen hath given this charge
To keep your grace in safety;
Your passions make your dolours to increase.

K. Edw. This usage makes my misery increase.
But can my air of life continue long
When all my senses are annoy'd with stench?
Within a dungeon England's king is kept,
Where I am starv'd for want of sustenance.
My daily diet is heart-breaking sobs,
That almost rents the closet of my heart;
Thus lives old Edward not reliev'd by any,
And so must die, though pitied by many.
O, water, gentle friends, to cool my thirst,
And clear my body from foul excrements.

Mat. Here's channel water, as our charge is given;

14. *To keep*] *Only to keep*, Dyce, Cunn., Fleay. 15. *to increase*] *increase* Q3. 16. *increase*] *to increase*, Bull., Ell., Ver. 22. *rents*] Dyce and most modern edd. *rent*; Dod. and Rob. have *rend*.

Scene iii.

6, 7. *nightly bird . . . fowls*] Cf. *The Owl and the Nightingale*, 61 sqq.: 'Ich wot þat þu art unmilde . . . Vorþi þu art loþ al fuel-kunne' etc.

17. *air of life*] breath of life, a translation of the Latin 'aura vitae', as Dyce notes.

18. *with stench*] This is in Holinshed, but not the dungeon of the next line, as Holinshed specifically says that the King was kept in 'a chamber over a foule filthie dungeon, ful of dead carion, trusting so to make an ende of him, wyth the abhominable stinche thereof: but he bearing it out strongly, as a man of a tough nature, continued still in life' (p. 883). In any case, the King is as yet *en route* for Kenilworth (see l. 48 fol. and the quotation to l. 27 below).

27. *channel water*] This, and the ensuing shaving, is not in Holinshed, but it is in Stow, who had it from de la More's History. In the 1606 ed. of the *Annals*, p. 350, it is given as follows: 'Moreover devising to disfigure him that hee might not be knowne, they determine for to shave as well the haire of his head, as also of his beard: wherefore, as in their journey they travailed by a little water which ranne in a ditch, they commanded

Sit down, for we'll be barbers to your grace.
K. Edw. Traitors, away! what, will you murther me,
Or choke your sovereign with puddle water?
Gur. No; but wash your face, and shave away your beard,
Lest you be known and so be rescued.
Mat. Why strive you thus? your labour is in vain.
K. Edw. The wren may strive against the lion's strength,
But all in vain: so vainly do I strive
To seek for mercy at a tyrant's hand.
[*They wash him with puddle water, and shave his beard away.*
Immortal powers! that knows the painful cares
That waits upon my poor distressed soul,
O level all your looks upon these daring men,
That wrongs their liege and sovereign, England's king.
O Gaveston, it is for thee that I am wrong'd,
For me, both thou and both the Spencers died!
And for your sakes a thousand wrongs I'll take.
The Spencers' ghosts, wherever they remain,
Wish well to mine; then tush, for them I'll die.
Mat. 'Twixt theirs and yours shall be no enmity.
Come, come away; now put the torches out,
We'll enter in by darkness to Killingworth.

Enter KENT.

39. *all*] omit. Dyce, Cunn., Wag., Fleay. 41. *it is*] most mod. edd. follow Cunn.'s *'tis*.

him to light from his horse to be shaven, to whome, being set on a moale hill, a Barber came unto him with a basen of colde water taken out of the ditch, to shave him withall, saying unto the king, that that water should serve for that time. To whome Edward answered, that would they noulde they he would have warme water for his beard; and, to the ende that he might keepe his promise, he began to weepe, and to shed teares plentifully.'

48 S. D. *Enter Kent*] 'The well-known plot of the Earl of Kent belongs to the year 1330. He was persuaded that Edward II was still alive, and he began to plan to restore him to the throne. Parliament met at Winchester, March 11, 1330, Mortimer had Kent arrested, tried by his peers, and beheaded on March 19. . . . The particulars here given are of the poet's own imagination, but he has brought forward his plot, and by putting it in the place of the short notice of

Gur. How now, who comes there?
Mat. Guard the king sure: it is the earl of Kent.
K. Edw. O gentle brother, help to rescue me.
Mat. Keep them asunder; thrust in the king.
Kent. Soldiers, let me but talk to him one word.
Gur. Lay hands upon the earl for this assault.
Kent. Lay down your weapons, traitors; yield the king.
Mat. Edmund, yield thou thyself, or thou shalt die.
Kent. Base villains, wherefore do you gripe me thus?
Gur. Bind him and so convey him to the court.
Kent. Where is the court but here? here is the king;
And I will visit him; why stay you me?
Mat. The court is where lord Mortimer remains;
Thither shall your honour go; and so farewell.
[*Exeunt* MATREVIS *and* GURNEY, *with the* KING.
Kent. O miserable is that commonweal,
Where lords keep courts, and kings are lock'd in prison!
Sol. Wherefore stay we? on, sirs, to the court.
Kent. Ay, lead me whither you will, even to my death,
Seeing that my brother cannot be releas'd.
[*Exeunt.*

SCENE IV

The Royal Palace, London

Enter MORTIMER *junior.*

Mor. jun. The king must die, or Mortimer goes down;
The commons now begin to pity him:

54. *this*] so O; Qq. have *his.* 62. S. D.] O, Qq. add *Manent Edmund and the souldiers.* 64. *Where lords*] O, Qq. place these two words at the end of the preceding line. 67. S. D.] O, Qq. add *omnes.*

Scene iv.

add. Rob. *The Royal Palace*] add. Dyce. S. D.] *Enter Mortimer alone* O, Qq.

"a secret plot" which he found in Holinshed, he has used his materials with great dramatic effect' (Tancock).

Yet he that is the cause of Edward's death,
Is sure to pay for it when his son is of age;
And therefore will I do it cunningly.
This letter, written by a friend of ours,
Contains his death, yet bids them save his life.
[*Reads.*

'*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est:*
Fear not to kill the king, 'tis good he die.'
But read it thus, and that's another sense:
'*Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est:*
Kill not the king, 'tis good to fear the worst.'
Unpointed as it is, thus shall it go,
That, being dead, if it chance to be found,
Matrevis and the rest may bear the blame,
And we be quit that caus'd it to be done.
Within this room is lock'd the messenger
That shall convey it, and perform the rest:
And by a secret token that he bears,
Shall he be murdered when the deed is done.

4. *son is*] *son's* Dyce–Ver.

Scene iv.

6. *This letter*] 'Withall the Bishop of Hereforde under a sophisticall forme of wordes signified to them by his letters, that they shoulde dispatch him out of the way, as thus: Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est: To kill Edwarde will not to feare it is good. Whiche riddle or doubtfull kinde of speech, as it might bee taken in two contrarie senses, onely by placing the poynt in Ortographie called *comma*, they interpreted it in the worse sense, putting the *comma* after *timere*, and so presuming of this commaundement as they tooke it, from the Bishop, they lodge the miserable prisoner in a chamber . . . etc.' (Holinshed, p. 883). Holinshed had the story from de la More; it is also in Stow's *Chronicle*, who translates the riddle:

'Kyl Edward do not fear it is a good thing'

or

'To seek to shed King Edward's blood
Refuse to feare I counte it good.'

G. C. Moore Smith (*T.L.S.*, 9 Aug. 1928) gives evidence for earlier historical uses of the same riddling command, and Professor Hilda Johnstone (*T.L.S.*, 16 Aug. 1928) points out that the attribution of the words to the Bishop of Hereford has good authority. It is recorded in a chronicle by Geoffrey le Baker who wrote in Edward III's reign and had much of his matter from his patron, de la More. Editors give other illustrations of these oracular ambiguities, from the famous 'Aio te Aecida Romanos vincere posse' onwards.

Lightborn, come forth!

Enter LIGHTBORN.

Art thou as resolute as thou wast?

Light. What else, my lord? and far more resolute.

Mor. jun. And hast thou cast how to accomplish it?

Light. Ay, ay, and none shall know which way he died.

Mor. jun. But at his looks, Lightborn, thou wilt relent.

Light. Relent! ha, ha! I use much to relent.

Mor. jun. Well, do it bravely, and be secret.

Light. You shall not need to give instructions;
'Tis not the first time I have killed a man.
I learn'd in Naples how to poison flowers;
To strangle with a lawn thrust through the throat;
To pierce the windpipe with a needle's point;
Or whilst one is asleep, to take a quill
And blow a little powder in his ears:
Or open his mouth and pour quicksilver down.
But yet I have a braver way than these.

Mor. jun. What's that?

Light. Nay, you shall pardon me; none shall know my tricks.

21. S. D. *Enter Lightborn*] add. Dyce. 22. *as resolute*] so O; but Qq. have *so resolute*. 32. *through*] so OQ; but Qq. 2, 3 have *down*. 37. *But*] *And*, Bull., Ell., Ver.

21. S. D. *Enter Lightborn*] This character is not in the authorities. Of him, Briggs writes: 'What characterizes Lightborn is his horridly professional pride; murder is for him a fine art, he practises it with the nicety of the expert and with a similar satisfaction, not merely for the reward.'

24. *cast*] see note to II. iii. 8, above.

39. *my tricks*] Lightborn is trained in the Italian school of crime, a favourite suggestion amongst Elizabethan dramatists. Holinshed's version of the means for Edward's murder is horrible enough. 'It seemed he was verie like to scape that danger [the stench etc.], as he had by purging eyther up or downe, avoyded the force of such poyson as had beene ministred to him sundrie tymes before, of purpose so to ridde him. Whereupon when they sawe that such practises woulde not serve their turne, they came sodenly one night into the chamber where hee lay in bed fast asleepe, and with heavie feather beddes, (or a table as some write) being cast upon him, they kept him downe, and withall put into his fundament an horne, and through the same they thrust

Mor. jun. I care not how it is, so it be not spied.
Deliver this to Gurney and Matrevis. [*Gives letter.*
At every ten miles' end thou hast a horse.
Take this; [*Gives money*] away, and never see me more.
Light. No.
Mor. jun. No,
Unless thou bring me news of Edward's death.
Light. That will I quickly do. Farewell, my lord. [*Exit.*
Mor. jun. The prince I rule, the queen do I command,
And with a lowly conge to the ground,
The proudest lords salute me as I pass;
I seal, I cancel, I do what I will.
Fear'd am I more than lov'd;—let me be fear'd,
And when I frown, make all the court look pale.
I view the prince with Aristarchus' eyes,
Whose looks were as a breeching to a boy.
They thrust upon me the protectorship,
And sue to me for that that I desire.
While at the council-table, grave enough,
And not unlike a bashful puritan,

41. S. D. *Gives letter*] add. Dyce. 42. *miles'*] *miles* O, Q2; but Q1, 3 have *mile*. 43. S. D. *Gives money*] add. Dyce. 47. S. D.] add. mod. edd.

up into his bodie a hote spitte, (or as other have through the pype of a Trumpet, a Plumbers instrument of yron made verie hote) the which passing up into his intrayles, and being rolled to and fro, burnt the same, but so as no appearance of any wounde or hurt outwardly might bee once perceyved' (p. 883).

49. *conge*] a bow, usually at taking one's leave—but occasionally also used for a bow at meeting. The word was a favourite in Elizabethan times.

54. *Aristarchus*] He was the most famous of all grammarians and schoolmasters of antiquity; his learning caused him to be regarded as the severest of critics. He lived in the second century before Christ.

59. *bashful*] sensitively modest in demeanour. The neutral sense of the word is given a depreciative turn by the following word 'puritan', i.e. one suspected of hypocritical assumption of goodness. The *N.E.D.* quotes from Ascham's *Scholemaster*: 'If a yong gentleman . . . be bashefull, and will soon blush, they call him a babishe and ill brought up thyng.' 'Puritan' was also a new word in Marlowe's time; in *Faustus*, i. 2. 24, he talks of a 'precisian' in a phrase where 'puritan' would be more modern.

First I complain of imbecility,
Saying it is *onus quam gravissimum*;
Till, being interrupted by my friends,
Suscepi that *provinciam* as they term it;
And to conclude, I am Protector now.
Now is all sure: the queen and Mortimer
Shall rule the realm, the king; and none rule us.
Mine enemies will I plague, my friends advance;
And what I list command who dare control?
Major sum quam cui possit fortuna nocere.
And that this be the coronation-day,
It pleaseth me, and Isabel the queen.
[*Trumpets within.*
The trumpets sound, I must go take my place.

Enter the young KING, *the* QUEEN, *the* BISHOP OF CANTERBURY, Champion *and* Nobles.

B. of Cant. Long live King Edward, by the grace of God,
King of England and lord of Ireland.
Cham. If any Christian, Heathen, Turk, or Jew,
Dares but affirm that Edward's not true king,
And will avouch his saying with the sword,
I am the champion that will combat him.
Mor. jun. None comes, sound trumpets. [*Trumpets sound.*
K. Edw. Third. Champion, here's to thee.
[*Gives a purse.*

66. *rule*] so O; but Qq. etc. *rules*. 76. *Dares*] Most edd. to Ver. follow Ox. *Dare*. 79. S. D. *Trumpets* etc.] add. Dyce. *Gives a purse*] add. Dyce.

60. *imbecility*] weakness, feebleness, in a general sense.
61. *onus quam gravissimum*] a very heavy load.
63. *Suscepi . . . provinciam*] undertook the task; from the Latin use, to take over the charge of a province.
69. *Major sum* etc.] From Ovid, *Metamorph.*, vi. 195.
79. S. D. *Gives a purse*] Dyce's direction is not certainly the right one. Possibly 'here's to thee' is a toast; according to the *Encyclopædia Britan.* at a coronation, after the champion's challenge, the king drank to the champion out of a silver-gilt cup, which he then handed to the champion as his fee.

Q. Isab. Lord Mortimer, now take him to your charge.

Enter Soldiers, *with* KENT *prisoner.*

Mor. jun. What traitor have we there with blades and bills?
Sol. Edmund, the earl of Kent.
K. Edw. Third. What hath he done?
Sol. 'A would have taken the king away perforce,
As we were bringing him to Killingworth.
Mor. jun. Did you attempt his rescue, Edmund? speak.
Kent. Mortimer, I did; he is our king,
And thou compellst this prince to wear the crown.
Mor. jun. Strike off his head! he shall have martial law.
Kent. Strike off my head! base traitor, I defy thee.
K. Edw. Third. My lord, he is my uncle, and shall live.
Mor. jun. My lord, he is your enemy, and shall die.
Kent. Stay, villains!
K. Edw. Third. Sweet mother, if I cannot pardon him,
Entreat my lord Protector for his life.
Q. Isab. Son, be content; I dare not speak a word.
K. Edw. Third. Nor I, and yet methinks I should command;
But, seeing I cannot, I'll entreat for him.
My lord, if you will let my uncle live,
I will requite it when I come to age.
Mor. jun. 'Tis for your highness' good, and for the realm's.
How often shall I bid you bear him hence?
Kent. Art thou king? must I die at thy command?
Mor. jun. At our command. Once more away with him.
Kent. Let me but stay and speak; I will not go.
Either my brother or his son is king,
And none of both them thirst for Edmund's blood:
And therefore, soldiers, whither will you ale me?
[Soldiers *hale* KENT *away, to be beheaded.*

102. *king*] so O, Q1; *a king* Qq. 2, 3. 106. *of both them*] Qq. 1, 3; but O, Q2 have *of both, then*; A.B.D., Ox., Rob. read *And neither of them.*

81. *What traitor*] See note to v. iii. 48 above.
88. *martial law*] Marlowe is not following his authorities here. Kent was tried and condemned by his peers in parliament.

K. Edw. Third. What safety may I look for at his hands,
If that my uncle shall be murthered thus?
Q. Isab. Fear not, sweet boy, I'll guard thee from thy foes;
Had Edmund liv'd, he would have sought thy death.
Come, son, we'll ride a-hunting in the park.
K. Edw. Third. And shall my uncle Edmund ride with us?
Q. Isab. He is a traitor; think not on him; come.

[*Exeunt.*

SCENE V

Berkeley Castle

Enter MATREVIS *and* GURNEY.

Mat. Gurney, I wonder the king dies not,
Being in a vault up to the knees in water,
To which the channels of the castle run,
From whence a damp continually ariseth,
That were enough to poison any man,
Much more a king brought up so tenderly.
Gur. And so do I, Matrevis: yesternight
I opened but the door to throw him meat,
And I was almost stifled with the savour.
Mat. He hath a body able to endure
More than we can inflict: and therefore now
Let us assail his mind another while.
Gur. Send for him out thence, and I will anger him.
Mat. But stay, who's this?

Enter LIGHTBORN.

114. S. D.] O, Qq. add *omnes.*

Scene v.

add. Rob. *Berkeley Castle*] add. Dyce. 3. *castle*] misspelt *Bastell* Qq. 2, 3. *run*] *runs* Q3.

Scene v.

2. *vault*] For Marlowe's alteration of the sort of prison in which the King was incarcerated, see the note to v. iii. 18 above.

Light. My lord Protector greets you. [*Gives letter.*
Gur. What's here? I know not how to conster it.
Mat. Gurney, it was left unpointed for the nonce;
'*Edwardum occidere nolite timere*,'
That's his meaning.
Light. Know you this token? I must have the king.
[*Gives token.*
Mat. Ay, stay awhile, thou shalt have answer straight.
This villain's sent to make away the king. [*Aside.*
Gur. I thought as much. [*Aside.*
Mat. And when the murder's done,
See how he must be handled for his labour.
Pereat iste! Let him have the king. [*Aside.*
What else? here is the key, this is the lake,
Do as you are commanded by my lord.
Light. I know what I must do. Get you away.
Yet be not far off, I shall need your help;
See that in the next room I have a fire,
And get me a spit, and let it be red-hot.
Mat. Very well.
Gur. Need you anything besides?
Light. What else? A table and a feather-bed.
Gur. That's all?
Light. Ay, ay; so, when I call you, bring it in.
Mat. Fear not you that.

14. S. D. *Gives letter*] add. Dyce. 15. *conster*] so O; *construe* Qq. 19. S. D. *Gives token*] add. Dyce. *you*] so O, Qq.; but mod. edd. to Ver. follow Dod. *ye*. 21. S. D. *Aside*] add. edd., as also at 22, 24. 25. *lake*] Bull. conj. *lock*. 30. *spit*] *spet* Q1. 35. *you*] so O; but Qq. *thou*.

24. *Pereat iste*] Lest Lightborn should know that he is carrying his own death-warrant, the instruction concerning him is given in Latin.

25. *lake*] There is no need for Bullen's emendation 'lock', nor for the suggestion that the 'lake' is the 'moat' wherein, one would then have to suppose, Matrevis imagined that the King was to be thrown. Briggs has collected (*M.L.N.*, Nov. 1924) sufficient examples to show that 'lake' is used in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English for a pit, den, or dungeon. *Lacus* was so used in (medieval) Latin.

30. *spit*] Lightborn appears to be preparing for murder by the gruesome means Holinshed names (see note to v. iv. 39 above). Naturally Marlowe proceeds no farther with it.

Gur. Here's a light, to go into the dungeon.

[*Gives a light, and then exit with* MATREVIS.

Light. So now
Must I about this gear; ne'er was there any
So finely handled as this king shall be.
Foh, here's a place indeed, with all my heart.

K. Edw. Who's there? what light is that? wherefore comes thou?

Light. To comfort you, and bring you joyful news.

K. Edw. Small comfort finds poor Edward in thy looks.
Villain, I know thou comst to murther me.

Light. To murther you, my most gracious lord,
Far is it from my heart to do you harm.
The queen sent me to see how you were used,
For she relents at this your misery:
And what eyes can refrain from shedding tears,
To see a king in this most piteous state?

K. Edw. Weepst thou already? list awhile to me
And then thy heart, were it as Gurney's is,
Or as Matrevis', hewn from the Caucasus,
Yet will it melt, ere I have done my tale.
This dungeon where they keep me is the sink
Wherein the filth of all the castle falls.

Light. O villains!

K. Edw. And there in mire and puddle have I stood
This ten days' space; and, lest that I should sleep,
One plays continually upon a drum.
They give me bread and water, being a king;

36. S. D. *Gives a light* etc.] add. Dyce. 37. *So now*] O, Qq. print these two words as part of the next line. 41. *comes*] so O; but Qq. *comst.*

37. *So now.*] Dyce thinks the scene now changes to the dungeon, and imagines that the change is indicated by the drawing of a curtain, revealing the King on the inner stage. But though there is confusion with the properties—e.g. the bed (l. 71 below), there is no need to have a change of scene. At l. 29 Lightborn orders a fire 'in the *next* room', a spit, a table, and a feather-bed. His request implies that these things, having been assembled in the next room, will be brought to him on his calling for them, or signalling that he is ready for them.

So that, for want of sleep and sustenance,
My mind's distempered, and my body's numb'd,
And whether I have limbs or no I know not.
O, would my blood dropp'd out from every vein,
As doth this water from my tattered robes.
Tell Isabel, the queen, I look'd not thus,
When for her sake I ran at tilt in France,
And there unhors'd the duke of Cleremont.

Light. O speak no more, my lord; this breaks my heart.
Lie on this bed, and rest yourself awhile.

K. Edw. These looks of thine can harbour nought but death:
I see my tragedy written in thy brows.
Yet stay awhile; forbear thy bloody hand,
And let me see the stroke before it comes,
That even then when I shall lose my life,
My mind may be more steadfast on my God.

Light. What means your highness to mistrust me thus?

K. Edw. What means thou to dissemble with me thus?

Light. These hands were never stain'd with innocent blood,
Nor shall they now be tainted with a king's.

K. Edw. Forgive my thought for having such a thought.
One jewel have I left; receive thou this.
[*Giving jewel.*
Still fear I, and I know not what's the cause,
But every joint shakes as I give it thee.
O, if thou harbourst murther in thy heart,
Let this gift change thy mind, and save thy soul.

76. *That even*] Dod.'s emendation of O, Qq. *That and even* is accepted by all mod. edd. except Briggs. 79. *means*] so O, Qq. 2, 3; but most edd. follow Q1 *meanst*. 82. *my thought*] Fleay emends to *my fau't*. 83. S. D. *Giving jewel*] add. Dyce.

67 ff. *Tell Isabel* etc.] Editors compare a similar passage in *2 Henry VI*, I. iii. 53 f.:

'I tell thee, Pole, when in the city Tours
Thou ran'st a tilt in honour of my love
And stolest away the ladies' hearts of France.'

This is represented also in the *First Part of the Contention*, iii. 59 ff. See our Introduction, p. 15.

Know that I am a king: O, at that name
I feel a hell of grief! where is my crown?
Gone, gone, and do I remain alive?

Light. You're overwatch'd, my lord; lie down and rest.

K. Edw. But that grief keeps me waking, I should sleep;
For not these ten days have these eyes' lids clos'd.
Now as I speak they fall, and yet with fear
Open again. O wherefore sits thou here?

Light. If you mistrust me, I'll begone, my lord.

K. Edw. No, no, for if thou meanst to murther me,
Thou wilt return again, and therefore stay. [*Sleeps.*

Light. He sleeps.

K. Edw. [*waking*]. O let me not die yet: stay, O stay a while!

Light. How now, my lord?

K. Edw. Something still buzzeth in mine ears,
And tells me if I sleep I never wake;
This fear is that which makes me tremble thus;
And therefore tell me, wherefore art thou come?

Light. To rid thee of thy life. Matrevis, come!

Enter MATREVIS *and* GURNEY.

K. Edw. I am too weak and feeble to resist:
Assist me, sweet God, and receive my soul!

Light. Run for the table.

K. Edw. O spare me, or despatch me in a trice.

[MATREVIS *brings in a table.*

Light. So, lay the table down, and stamp on it,
But not too hard, lest that you bruise his body.

[KING EDWARD *is murdered.*

Mat. I fear me that this cry will raise the town,

90. *I remain*] Dod. reads *I still remain*, and is followed by Dyce, Wag., Fleay, Ell. *alive*] omit. Qq. 2, 3. 93. *eyes' lids*] so O, Qq. 1, 2; but Q3 has *eye-lids*. 98. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 100. S. D.] add. mod. edd. *stay, O stay*] Q3 omits the first *stay* and *O*. 106. S. D. *Enter Matrevis* etc.] add. Dyce. 110. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 112. S. D.] add. Rob.

113. *this cry*] 'His crie did move many within the castell and towne of Berkley to compassion, plainly hearing him utter a wailefull

And therefore let us take horse and away.
Light. Tell me, sirs, was it not bravely done?
Gur. Excellent well: take this for thy reward.
[GURNEY *stabs* LIGHTBORN, *who dies.*
Come, let us cast the body in the moat,
And bear the king's to Mortimer our lord:
Away! [*Exeunt with the bodies.*

SCENE VI

The Royal Palace, London

Enter MORTIMER *junior and* MATREVIS.

Mor. jun. Is't done, Matrevis, and the murtherer dead?
Mat. Ay, my good lord; I would it were undone.
Mor. jun. Matrevis, if thou now growest penitent
I'll be thy ghostly father; therefore choose,
Whether thou wilt be secret in this,
Or else die by the hand of Mortimer.
Mat. Gurney, my lord, is fled, and will, I fear,
Betray us both, therefore let me fly.

116. S. D.] *Then Gurney stabs Lightborne* O, Qq. 119. S. D.] O, Qq. add *omnes.*

Scene vi.

add. Rob. *The Royal Palace*] add. Dyce. 3. *now*] omit. Qq. 2, 3.

noyse' (Holinshed, p. 883). Peele, in *Honour of the Garter*, ll. 220 ff., refers to the cry:

'Edward the Second, father to this King,
Whose tragic cry even now me-thinks I hear,
When graceless wretches murder'd him by night.'

Scene vi.

4. *choose*] Marlowe does not follow his authorities in the fate overtaking Matrevers and Gurney. 'The Queene, the Bishop and other, that their tyrannie might be hid, outlawed and banished the Lorde Matrevers and Thomas Gourney, who fleing unto Marcels, three yeares after being knowne, taken and brought toward Englande was beheaded on the sea, least hee shoulde accuse the chiefe doers, as the Bishop and other. John Matrevers, repenting himselfe, lay long hidden in Germanie, and in the ende died penitently' (Holinshed, p. 883).

Mor. jun. Fly to the savages.
Mat. I humbly thank your honour. [*Exit.*
Mor. jun. As for myself, I stand as Jove's huge tree,
And others are but shrubs compar'd to me.
All tremble at my name, and I fear none;
Let's see who dare impeach me for his death.

Enter the QUEEN.

Q. Isab. Ah, Mortimer, the king my son hath news
His father's dead, and we have murdered him!
Mor. jun. What if he have? the king is yet a child.
Q. Isab. Ay, ay, but he tears his hair, and wrings his hands,
And vows to be reveng'd upon us both.
Into the council-chamber he is gone,
To crave the aid and succour of his peers.
Ay me, see where he comes, and they with him;
Now, Mortimer, begins our tragedy.

Enter KING EDWARD THE THIRD, Lords, *and* Attendants.

1*st Lord.* Fear not, my lord, know that you are a king.
K. Edw. Third. Villain!—
Mor. jun. How now, my lord?
K. Edw. Third. Think not that I am frighted with thy words.
My father's murdered through thy treachery;
And thou shalt die, and on his mournful hearse
Thy hateful and accursed head shall lie,
To witness to the world that by thy means
His kingly body was too soon interr'd.

10. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 23. S. D.] *Enter the king, with the lords* O, Qq. 26. *How now*] so O, Qq. 2, 3, but Q1 *Ho now*.

11. *Jove's huge tree*] the oak, called *Jove's tree* in *As You Like It*, iii. 2. 249. Vergil has *magna Jovis. . . quercus* (*Georgics*, iii. 332).

29. *thou shalt die*] Marlowe expedites the story of Mortimer's fate. Edward II was murdered in September 1327. Mortimer was not executed until 1330.

Q. Isab. Weep not, sweet son.
K. Edw. Third. Forbid not me to weep; he was my father;
And had you lov'd him half so well as I,
You could not bear his death thus patiently.
But you, I fear, conspir'd with Mortimer.
1st Lord. Why speak you not unto my lord the king?
Mor. jun. Because I think scorn to be accus'd.
Who is the man dare say I murdered him?
K. Edw. Third. Traitor, in me my loving father speaks,
And plainly saith, 'twas thou that murdredst him.
Mor. jun. But hath your grace no other proof than this?
K. Edw. Third. Yes, if this be the hand of Mortimer.
[*Showing letter.*
Mor. jun. False Gurney hath betray'd me and himself.
[*Aside.*
Q. Isab. I fear'd as much; murther cannot be hid.
[*Aside.*
Mor. jun. 'Tis my hand; what gather you by this?
K. Edw. Third. That thither thou didst send a murtherer.
Mor. jun. What murtherer? Bring forth the man I sent.
K. Edw. Third. Ah, Mortimer, thou knowest that he is slain;
And so shalt thou be too. Why stays he here,
Bring him unto a hurdle, drag him forth;
Hang him, I say, and set his quarters up;
But bring his head back presently to me.
Q. Isab. For my sake, sweet son, pity Mortimer.
Mor. jun. Madam, entreat not, I will rather die,
Than sue for life unto a paltry boy.

39. *think*] *think it* Dyce conjec. followed by Ell., Ver. 40. *dare*] so O, but Qq. and most edd. *dares*. 44. S. D. *Showing letter*] add. Dyce. 45, 46. S. D. *Aside*] add. Dyce.

47. *my hand*] Marlowe says the letter was written by a 'friend', not by Mortimer. See v. iv. 6.

52. *hurdle*] the carriage on which criminals were dragged to execution.

K. Edw. Third. Hence with the traitor, with the murderer!
Mor. jun. Base Fortune, now I see, that in thy wheel
There is a point, to which when men aspire,
They tumble headlong down: that point I touch'd,
And, seeing there was no place to mount up higher,
Why should I grieve at my declining fall?
Farewell, fair queen; weep not for Mortimer,
That scorns the world, and, as a traveller,
Goes to discover countries yet unknown.
K. Edw. Third. What! suffer you the traitor to delay?
[MORTIMER *junior is taken away by* 1st Lord *and* Attendants.
Q. Isab. As thou receivedst thy life from me,
Spill not the blood of gentle Mortimer!
K. Edw. Third. This argues that you spilt my father's blood,
Else would you not entreat for Mortimer.
Q. Isab. I spill his blood? no.
K. Edw. Third. Ay, madam, you; for so the rumour runs.
Q. Isab. That rumour is untrue; for loving thee,
Is this report rais'd on poor Isabel.
K. Edw. Third. I do not think her so unnatural.
2nd Lord. My lord, I fear me it will prove too true.
K. Edw. Third. Mother, you are suspected for his death,
And therefore we commit you to the Tower
Till further trial may be made thereof;
If you be guilty, though I be your son,
Think not to find me slack or pitiful.
Q. Isab. Nay, to my death, for too long have I lived,
Whenas my son thinks to abridge my days.

67. S. D. *Mortimer junior is* etc.] add. Cunn. 72. *no*] omit. Qq. 2, 3. 80. *may*] omit. Qq. 2, 3.

79. *to the Tower*] The Queen was not committed to the Tower. She was assigned a liberal allowance for the maintenance of her estate, but was appointed to remain in a certain place and not to go elsewhere abroad.

84. *abridge my days*] Briggs compares *1 Tamburlaine*, v. ii. 223: 'Now, Bajazeth, abridge thy baneful days.'

K. Edw. Third. Away with her, her words enforce these tears,
And I shall pity her if she speak again.
Q. Isab. Shall I not mourn for my beloved lord,
And with the rest accompany him to his grave?
2nd Lord. Thus, madam, 'tis the king's will you shall hence.
Q. Isab. He hath forgotten me; stay, I am his mother.
2nd Lord. That boots not; therefore, gentle madam, go.
Q. Isab. Then come, sweet death, and rid me of this grief.
[*Exit.*

Re-enter 1st Lord, *with the head of* MORTIMER *junior.*

1st Lord. My lord, here is the head of Mortimer.
K. Edw. Third. Go fetch my father's hearse, where it shall lie;
And bring my funeral robes. [*Exeunt* Attendants.
Accursed head,
Could I have rul'd thee then, as I do now,
Thou hadst not hatch'd this monstrous treachery!
Here comes the hearse; help me to mourn, my lords.

Re-enter Attendants *with the hearse and funeral robes.*

Sweet father, here unto thy murdered ghost
I offer up this wicked traitor's head;
And let these tears, distilling from mine eyes,
Be witness of my grief and innocency. [*Exeunt.*

88. *his*] *the* Qq. 2, 3. 92. S. D. *Exit . . . junior*] add. mod. edd.
95. S. D.] add. mod. edd. 98. S. D. *Re-enter* etc.] add. mod. edd.
102. S. D. *Exeunt*] add. mod. edd. *FINIS* O, Qq.

POSTSCRIPT

By the General Editor

THE present volume completes the edition of *The Works and Life of Christopher Marlowe*, of which the *Life* and *The Tragedy of Dido Queen of Carthage* were the first instalment and appeared in one volume in 1930.

In the *Life* much that is new has been brought forward, and if it does not altogether clear the fame of Marlowe from the cloud which rests upon it, at least it has brightened it in some aspects, and has deprived the threatening circumstances which preceded his unhappy end of some of their sinister significance. With regard to the *Works*, the edition (especially in the volume devoted to the plays on Tamburlaine) has vindicated Marlowe's claim to be no careless adapter of sources, but a scholar whose imaginative treatment of his material is based on sound and accurate knowledge. In the Introduction to *Faustus*, his 'fidelity' to source aids in a demonstration of the real importance, not always admitted, of the 1616 text, and in the annotation of the *Poems*, their editor has been able to show that many of the apparent errors in the youthful translation of Ovid are explained by the sixteenth-century texts which he used. The restored arrangement of *Faustus*, mainly traditional, into Acts and Scenes, in place of a mere division into Scenes, puts the structure of the play in a better light; and difficult problems of a similar nature, including the location of Scenes, have been coped with in the editions of *The Jew of Malta* and *The Massacre at Paris*.

As a whole, the edition, achieved on the scale prefigured in the General Preface in 1930, is one more tribute to

Marlowe's genius, and to that prevailing influence in the development of Elizabethan drama and poetry which has long been accorded him. Blank verse was already no despicable instrument when he approached it, but in his hands it acquired a metrical strength and beauty previously unconceived, and for ineffable music obtained by variation of pause and accent within the end-stopped line, as in the famous apostrophe of Faustus to the simulacrum of Helen, probably as unsurpassable as it is unsurpassed. Professor Elton has pointed out in the eighth chapter of his recent volume, *The English Muse*, a quality of great importance in the gift of the 'mighty line' to poetry, namely naturalness 'in its language, its order, and its cadence'.

It was Marlowe who developed one great tragic situation, that in which a character of exceptional powers, fired by some overmastering desire, for an earthly crown as in Tamburlaine, for forbidden knowledge and power as in Faustus, lawlessly overcomes all obstacles in pursuit of it, only to find disillusionment in attainment, and to be wrecked —to borrow a phrase from Bradley's *Shakesperean Tragedy* —in the inevitable conflict with 'the order of the world'. It was he who in *Edward the Second* superseded the rude chronicle play by an artistic drama far in advance of it in structure and restraint; and if probabilities in respect of dates suggest that he learnt something from Shakespeare,[1] Shakespeare was repaid by him twofold.

But though it may rightly be accounted a fault in Marlowe that he did not subdue the lyrical impulse to dramatic exigencies, his greatest service was that he brought passion and poetry into tragedy, at once lifting it into a higher plane; for what contemporary drama needed most of all was the inspiration that a great poet could give, one who could find expression in it not only for his own dreams and aspirations, but could feel with intensity and give great and

[1] The artistic relationship of Marlowe with Shakespeare is treated among the various questions discussed at length in the Introduction to this Volume. See pp. 10–17, 23–7, and *Index*, under Marlowe and Shakespeare.

passionate utterance to the aspirations and the sufferings of his chosen characters, to the hunger for the unattainable in poet or conqueror, to the worship of ' infinite riches ' in the Jew, to the anguish of a lost soul or of a fallen and tortured king.

If Marlowe had no latent gift for comedy to be developed as he mellowed and matured ; if traits and touches in Zenocrate, in Abigail, and in the kindly niece of Edward, are insufficient to suggest a likelihood of improvement in the delineation of female character, yet the dramatist of *Faustus* and *Edward the Second*, who had already reformed faults of extravagance and made progress in his conception of tragedy, the narrative poet of *Hero and Leander*, and the lyric poet of his famous song, must surely have gone on to further triumphs, and is throned high among ' The inheritors of unfulfilled renown '.

R. H. CASE.

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